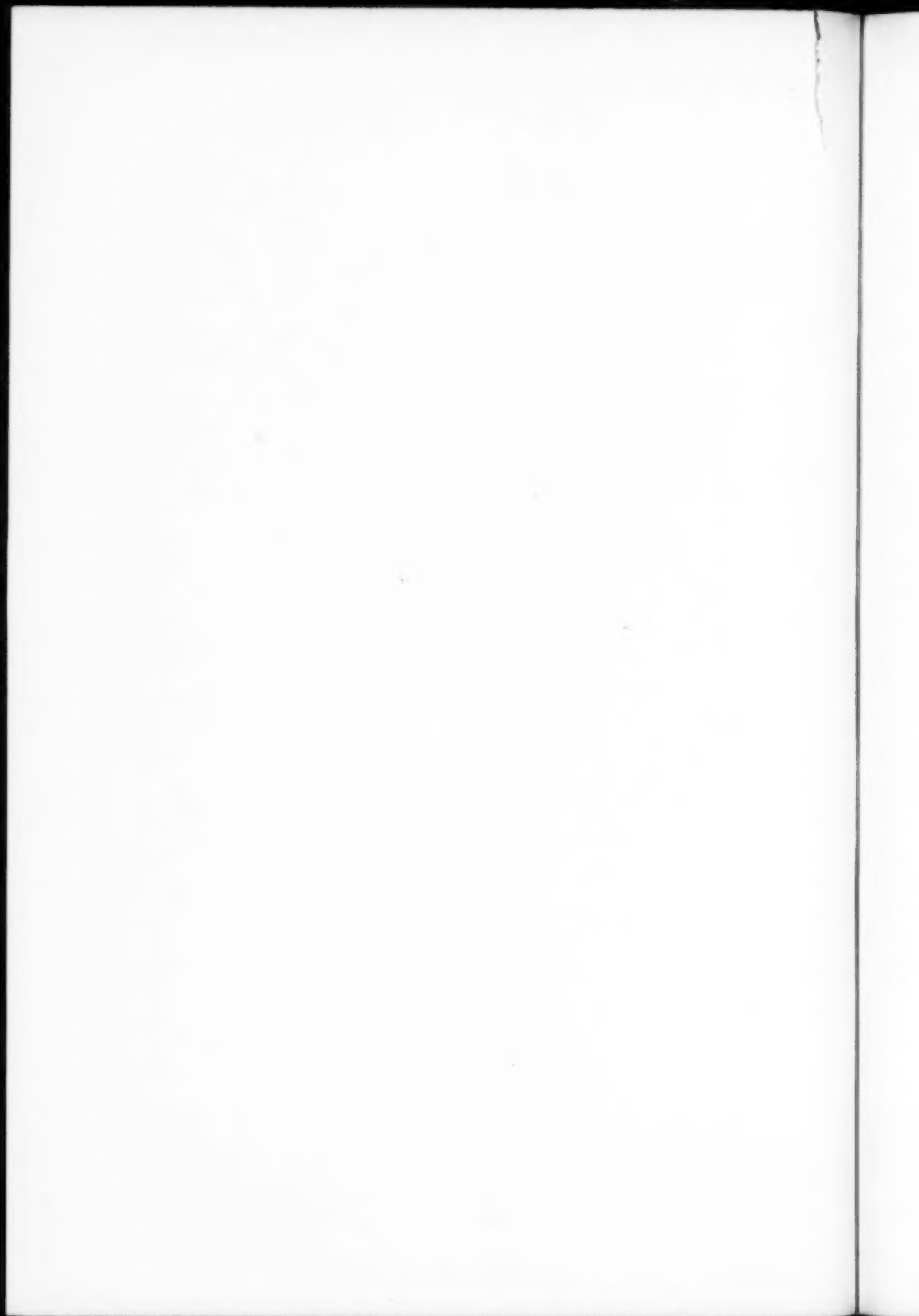


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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL HISTORY¹

There is an old way and there is a new way of studying history. Not many years ago when we studied history in the schools it consisted largely of wars, battles, and conquests, outstanding political events, and the careers of notable monarchs, military leaders, politicians, and statesmen. Alexander and Caesar, Charlemagne and Napoleon stalked across the stage, destroying their enemies and setting up imperial domains. The fortunes of kings and emperors occupied many pages in the books, and oftentimes the real test of a student's knowledge of history was his ability to name the Roman emperors or the kings of France or of England in order and with appropriate dates. When we came to American history the emphasis was only slightly changed. We were given, after a résumé of the political and military events just preceding and during the Revolution, the political careers and fortunes of Jefferson and Hamilton, Calhoun, Jackson, Webster, and Clay, interspersed with accounts of wars, diplomatic achievements, and territorial expansion, and some closing lectures on Lincoln and Douglas, slavery, and the military and constitutional events of the Civil War.

Now, all this was very important, and to some extent the facts about these outstanding men and events must be and are still taught and studied. Furthermore, to the mind of youth in the schools, it was all very grand and impressive. As we grew older, however, real doubts began to arise as to the importance and relevance of much that we had learned. Something seemed to be missing from the picture, and we began

¹ This is a revised form of an address delivered at a joint meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society and the League of Minnesota Municipalities at Brainerd on June 13, 1928. *Ed.*

to question the utility of knowing so much about kings, generals, and statesmen, about campaigns, battles, treaties, and statutes, when they served, after all, to give so incomplete a history of the earth's peoples. We began to raise questions as did the little boy in Robert Southey's poem after hearing from his grandfather all about the battle of Blenheim.

"But what good came of it at last?"

Quoth little Peterkin.

"Why, that I cannot tell," said he;

"But 'twas a famous victory."

What profits it to know of wars and battles unless one knows what good, if any, they do? A victory of France over Germany or of Germany over France may be a notable event, but it has no value in and of itself. What good, indeed, to know that empires and republics have risen and fallen or that constitutions, statutes, and treaties have been adopted, enforced for a time, and then broken or repealed, unless we know also what benefit or harm they visited upon the peoples who were affected by them? In fact, what is important in history if it is not the life of the people, the millions and millions of people in all times and in all climes and their long, slow, half-blind struggles upwards — but not always upward — toward self-government, self-mastery, education, improved economic conditions, and in general the better things of life?

Guided by these and other similar considerations, the historian of the modern school, though he knows his kings and his presidents and his military, constitutional, diplomatic, and political history, uses these only as the outline of his picture while he works deeper and deeper into the background to fill in the details about the lives of the people which make the picture more truthful and complete. He wants to know about their migrations, their settlements, and their home life, about their religions, their education, their music, arts, and literature, and about their social and economic customs and institutions. In a word, he wishes to know how men, women, and children

fares while monarchs, military leaders, and politicians played with grand politics and war.

Of the many agencies that are turning our attention to these new phases of history, probably none are doing a more useful work than the state historical societies of this country. In this democratic republic of the twentieth century, with its forty-eight self-governing states and its millions of people steadily turning their faces away from war and toward the ways of peace, it is notable and appropriate that historical work of this type is everywhere encouraged and supported. Let us hope that the work of the many state and local historical societies may go forward free and untrammelled, with an eye single to the truth, neither hemmed in by censors nor denounced by propagandists nor pinched and limited by lack of funds to do their work.

While this striking change has been taking place in the attitude and the work of the historian, the student of government has been experiencing a similar change in his point of view. Whereas he once dealt mainly with the great state or nation, with its constitution and its sovereign, and with such difficult and abstruse questions as those of sovereignty and the separation and division of powers, he now finds that the progress of events in government has given him other problems to analyze and solve. The state, he now sees more clearly than ever, does not exist merely to maintain its own power, nor does it have power merely for the purposes of maintaining order at home, conquering its enemies abroad, and extending its territory. If the state has any sound reason for existence, once security and stability have been attained, it must be to render services of value to the people; for as Aristotle said many centuries ago the state originates in the bare needs of life but continues in existence for the sake of a good life. The power of the state and the several organs of the state which exercise this power are not ends in themselves but rather the means by which the ends of government may be accomplished. Therefore, ques-

tions of sovereignty, power, and prestige are no longer considered as important as once they were, but questions of public service have an increased importance. The outstanding questions today are: What is the state doing to improve the lives of its people? How is it doing this work and at how much cost?

A consideration of these questions has led political scientists in recent years to delve deep into the problems of public administration. How government raises and expends public funds, how it recruits and controls its staff of employees, and the methods that it uses to perform its several services now are stock problems for the students as well as for the officers of government. Out of the study of these problems has risen the so-called "efficiency movement." Bureaus for research have sprung up all over the land for the primary purpose of assisting public officials to solve their problems of administration and thus indirectly to help the people to obtain more effective, economical, and serviceable government. The results of this movement are only beginning to be felt; we may expect to see more and more of them as time goes on. Perhaps with their help we may even hope to approach some day the ideal of an efficient democracy.

The modern attitude of the historian and the modern viewpoint of the political scientist are giving an enhanced importance to the study of the small community—the city, the village, the town, and the county. Nearly a century ago a learned Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, putting into writing his acute observations of *Democracy in America*, spoke most impressively of the importance of these local units. "The village or township," he said, "is the only association which is so perfectly natural that wherever a number of men are collected it seems to constitute itself. The town or tithing, as the smallest division of a community, must necessarily exist in all nations, whatever their laws and customs may be: if man makes monarchies and establishes republics, the first association of mankind seems constituted by the hand of God."

In our own day, James Bryce, an equally distinguished English student and statesman, writing in *Modern Democracies* of local self-government and its importance to national self-government, speaks with equal eloquence concerning these local units. "The small communities here described," he says, "may be called the tiny fountainheads of democracy, rising among the rocks, sometimes lost altogether in their course, sometimes running underground to reappear at last in fuller volume. They suffice to show that popular government is not a new thing in the world, but was in many countries the earliest expression of man's political instincts." And he adds in another place that "the best school of democracy, and the best guarantee of its success, is the practice of local self-government."

Even if the modern social historian does not agree entirely with Bryce and De Tocqueville he must give careful heed to these local communities because in them he can get close to the daily lives of the people. It is in these small units that men and women can be studied at short range and in groups not too large to understand. Some cities present, in fact, almost all the social and economic problems of the nation as a whole.

Furthermore, small communities like cities and villages are in a sense more natural and also more durable than great empires. Where is today the empire of Alexander the Great or the far-stretched dominions of the Romans or of Charlemagne or Napoleon? What, indeed, has become of the empire of the Hapsburgs, which lasted into our own time? They are gone, and many more like them, and nothing has risen to take their places, but the materials of which they were formed still exist, though changed by time. The territory, the people, the towns, and the villages go on in many places much as they did in the past. Rome and Athens persist to this day, and so do Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and many more. Even an historian would find it no easy thing to name over the different régimes under which Rome has lived from the days of its founding to the days of Mussolini, but the Eternal City still

stands as it has stood through the ages, surviving all the shocks of time. Even such modern western cities as Paris, London, and New York have existed under several different sovereignties and have endured much violence in times of change, but their municipal histories are almost unbroken from their several beginnings.

Perdurance is, then, a quality of well-built and well-located cities, yet no one would venture to say that cities always escape destruction, for we know the contrary to be true. Troy is gone, and Carthage, and the almost legendary Ur of the Chaldees. Pompeii is no more a city and we know of the ancient Mayan cities of Central America almost wholly from their archeological remains. For many a city we may lament, with Jeremiah, "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people." Yes, cities perish along with other things mortal, whether worn out by time or destroyed by the furies of nature or of men. Some of them fall never to rise again, others only to rise more potent than before. Archeologists, digging among the ruins of ancient places in search of clues to the history of olden times and men, have found evidences of three, four, and even five or more cities having been built in succession in one place, each one upon the broken stones of its predecessor. And so, even when falling into ruins, cities reveal their importance to history, for it is to these very ruins that modern scientists return to excavate for the broken pillars, the images, the pottery, and the graven tablets that throw a little light upon the life of man as it was lived in now-forgotten periods of time.

Like the historian the political scientist is learning the importance of the local units of government. Anxious to know how the government is influencing the lives of men and women for better or for worse, he must needs study local government primarily, since it is the local units which supply the chief services that redound measurably to the benefit of the people. We look to the national government to provide for a few great

national concerns, such as foreign affairs, war and peace, defense against enemies, and the regulation of currency, banking, and foreign and interstate commerce. It has been estimated by high authority that from seventy-five to eighty per cent of all the expenditures of the national government have gone or go to pay for past, present, and future wars. What we have to show for some of these expenditures it would be hard to say; and if the national government provides a postal service and some aid to good roads, waterways, public health, and education, we must perforce be thankful that its peaceful public services are not less than they are.

As we come down from the national to the state or commonwealth governments we find the ideal of service to the public more emphasized, and in fairness it must be said that in recent years the states have done notable work in expanding the activities that tend toward making better the lives of men and women. It is, however, in the local units — the cities, villages, towns, school districts, and counties — that we find the government most active in promoting the public weal. It is here, in the thousands upon thousands of local communities, that men and women bear directly the financial burden and give the time needed to support and carry on education, public works, street and road improvements, health work, parks and recreation, drainage, water supply and other public utilities, police and fire protection, and the numerous other local services that inure to the welfare of the people. The growth and spread of these services and the standard at which they are maintained constitute in fact an excellent measure of the state of civilization we have reached.

We have, then, in the modern ideal of government existing for public service and in the consequent increased importance of local government in our scheme of life two of the outstanding social facts of our present age. The historian, the political scientist, and the official of local government will find much of mutual importance in these two facts. It is fitting, there-

fore, at a joint session of the Minnesota Historical Society and the League of Minnesota Municipalities, that we pay some heed to the dignity and the importance of the work in which we are mutually engaged, that we reconsider the spirit and the purpose of the things we are trying to do and the nature of our responsibility, and that we consider, also, whether there are not opportunities for us to engage in coöperative labors beneficial to the state, the local communities, and the people whom we jointly serve.

In speaking on these questions I shall assume to do so not as a professed political scientist addressing two alien and diverse groups, but rather as if I were a member of both organizations. This is not strictly the case, of course, since the League of Minnesota Municipalities has no members except cities, villages, and towns and their chosen officials. Nevertheless, some contact with the league and its work over a period of years has made me feel that I have a sort of membership in it; and I have a real membership in the Minnesota Historical Society.

To the members and staff of the Minnesota Historical Society permit me to offer the thought that an increasing attention to the history of local government and local administration would open a rich field for research and might easily lead to valuable results in the interpretation of our social and economic heritage. This is not to ask anyone to forsake the modern ways of social and economic history, but quite the contrary. In the history of local governments there is practically nothing of dynastic or military history and very little of constitutional or political history in the usual sense. Indeed to study the history of the government and administration of cities, villages, towns, and counties is but to study a most natural phase of some highly important forms of local social and economic organization.

The work suggested may be done in several different ways, but all roads will lead eventually to a common goal. Particular cities, towns, villages, or counties might well be selected for

local and intensive study. It would be highly useful to have adequate, scholarly histories of each of the larger cities and counties of the state and of as many of the smaller ones as possible. These studies would be best rounded out if they dealt with government and administration as a part of the general social and economic development of the place, but they would be useful even if they dealt only with the governmental and administrative history. This is a type of historical work that should enlist the interest and the efforts not only of local historical societies in counties and cities but also of local teachers, scholars, and writers, and of teachers and graduate students in our university and colleges.

Another approach lies along lines broader as to area but more specialized as to subject. Thus it would be exceedingly valuable to have studies covering the whole state of Minnesota and dealing with the history of such matters as taxation, elections, police, education, public health work, poor relief and welfare enterprises, drainage operations, and dozens of other activities of state and local governments.

The importance of such studies, when adequately done, cannot easily be overstated. Partly through the labors of local authorities in many of these activities our whole civilization is being swiftly made over "into something rich and strange." Let us take, as a single example, the development of the roads and highways of our state. The story could be made almost romantic, particularly if it began with a study of Indian and pioneer trails, but even without this feature a history of road and highway developments under town, county, and state control since 1858, and particularly in recent years, would constitute a social document of the greatest interest and importance. Some years ago Mr. Sidney Webb wrote a book for England under the title of *The Story of the King's Highway*, and it seemed that much of the social and economic history of England for several centuries was condensed into that single slender volume. Mr. Webb lightened the pages of his account

by describing the work of two famous road engineers popularly known as "Pontifex Maximus Telford" and "Macadam the Magician." Perhaps Minnesota does not have a Telford or a Macadam to serve as hero of the plot, but there is none so blind that he cannot see how the automobile and the new highways are quickening the life of these United States in a way before undreamed. Old towns are being stirred to a new life and new ones are coming into existence, all at the urge of the new means of easy transportation. "All the world's awheel," we say, and we come several hundred miles to a convention like this with much less trouble than it used to be to drive to the county seat.

Let me pause here for a brief digression, because in giving this single example of a public service the history of which deserves to be written, I have mentioned a name that might inspire any historian of local government to his best work. Mr. Webb and his capable wife, Beatrice Potter Webb, have set a standard in work of this kind that no American has dared attempt to reach. Their joint works on the history of English local government, running now into many volumes, not only have high value as history, but in addition have had an effect on English policy in matters of local government which shows how potent and useful the work of the historian in this field can really be. History, although sometimes called the science of the past, can have a notable influence on the present.

Minnesota stands today in need of historians who will describe with accuracy, sympathy, and insight the history of her many local governments. Let the historian do his work now while the records and many of those who made the records are still available for consultation. As a guide to municipal policy in present-day Minnesota a full and accurate history of Brainerd or of any other city in the state is worth far more to the citizens, legislators, and administrators of Minnesota than all the broken pottery, statues, and tablets that many archeologists can dig up at much expense and labor from the ruins of ancient Carthage, Ur, or Troy.

Having delivered this little sermon to the historians urging them to pay greater attention to local government, I now make bold to turn the tables and to suggest to those engaged in the work of local government that they will find in history much that is of value in their work. By history at this point I mean nothing more nor less than recorded experience. The municipal official should know a good deal of the history not only of his state and of his own city but also of other cities in this and other states. He needs this knowledge, if for no other purpose, to guide his votes and his actions in relation to the duties of his office and other public affairs. Much history of this useful kind is published in one place or another. Some of it is printed in the reports of the Minnesota supreme court, which has had to tell particular cities from time to time what they may and may not do and why. Some of it is written in the reports of certain state departments and some in the reports that cities themselves have published in the past. Much more of it will be found, perhaps, in technical periodicals, such as engineering and medical journals.

Unfortunately, however, a great deal of the sort of practical experience that cities have from time to time is not recorded at all or is very poorly recorded. Hence there is little basis for judgment on many current proposals of municipal action, and city officials may easily be misled by the arguments and the persuasions of supply salesmen, propagandists, and enthusiasts of other descriptions. At such times city officials would do well to consult the municipal reference bureau at the University of Minnesota, the files of *Minnesota Municipalities*, the officials of other cities, and all other sources of information that may be available. Usually some experience will be found recorded somewhere that will serve as a guide to present action.

It should be noted, however, that no information service will ever be as useful as it should be until municipal officials report fully and frankly the experience of their own cities in all important matters. A false sense of local pride often keeps cities from reporting their mistakes, but it is exactly these mistakes which,

if fully reported in *Minnesota Municipalities* or elsewhere, would serve as the best warning to other places not to repeat the errors at a later date.

The value of a knowledge of the past will scarcely be denied by any one. The more complete and accurate the knowledge of the local official of what has happened, the more likely is he to act wisely on matters before him. It is necessary to remind ourselves, also, that the present will quickly be the past. What is done today will be history tomorrow. We live, as it were, upon the thin edge of time, masters only for the moment of the things we do. What lies behind is unchangeable; what lies before is yet out of reach.

Local officials and all others engaged in the work of local government are in a sense the makers of local history. We need to ask ourselves constantly whether the record we make today will be one that we will be proud to report tomorrow. Will it be a record of real achievement? Will men hold meetings to commemorate our deeds or will they execrate us or simply ignore and forget us? Upon our work in the present depend the answers to these questions.

But lest we moralize too long in this vein, let us recognize that there is another important question, namely this: Will men in the future be able to read and understand our records? Are the records of our local governments being written down fully, clearly, and correctly? Are they being written in good ink on paper that will still hold together a generation hence? Are the books being stored in fireproof, dry, airy places, where they will last until the historian or the local citizen of the future comes along to use them? In short, how much care are we taking to preserve a complete and honest record of our local units and their work for the future citizen or official to read as a guide to his action? This is a subject to which too little attention has been given and the historian can report many truly tragic losses of valuable records through fire, water, careless administration, ink that fades with time, and other preventable causes. The state of Massachusetts, more progressive than others in this

matter, has a commissioner of public records with a general power of supervision over the archives of counties and towns. Minnesota would do well to study this problem and to adopt legislation suited to its own conditions to preserve local records ere it is too late.

But it is not only the past and the present that the local official must consider. History shows that the lives of our cities are continuous and long. Their tomorrows will soon be upon us as today's, which themselves quickly pass into yesterdays. Our cities are being made over, almost literally, nearly every generation. Let any city in Minnesota look at a picture of itself of thirty years ago and ask itself, "What will I be like thirty years hence?" and it will see the point of this remark. In a few generations Minnesota will probably double its population — and many of its cities grow even more rapidly than the state as a whole.

Here are problems of city planning and of building for the future. The official is responsible to a municipal corporation which in theory never dies. Let him look, then, to history, to the past, and he will find many examples of the bad results that come from poor planning and from failure to plan. Let him then take warning from the past to plan better for the future. If he does this he will find that he has planted a tree which thirty or more years hence will still be bearing fruit for his own and his city's satisfaction.

In making this plea for planning let me say that I do not propose that all cities try to make themselves over according to one pattern. On the contrary true planning means that each city should find and attempt to realize its own individuality, its own distinctive innate possibilities.

Lord Dunsany has put in poetic language the differences between cities, and it is these which we should preserve and develop.

For there is an air about a city, and it has a way with it, whereby a man may recognize one from another at once. There are cities full of happiness and cities full of pleasure, and cities full of gloom.

There are cities with their faces to heaven, and some with their faces to earth; some have a way of looking at the past and others look at the future; some notice you if you come among them, others glance at you, others let you go by. Some love the cities that are their neighbors, others are dear to the plains and to the heath; some cities are bare to the wind, others have purple cloaks and others brown cloaks and some are clad in white. Some tell the old tale of their infancy, with others it is secret; some cities sing and some mutter, some are angry. And some have broken hearts, and each city has her way of greeting Time.

Permit me then, in closing, to bespeak the coöperation of these two important forces in Minnesota history — the Minnesota Historical Society and the League of Minnesota Municipalities. Let the makers of local history and the students and writers of local history work together toward the common end of making Minnesota an outstanding leader among the states — a state in which historical knowledge and wisdom guide the practical work of the administrator in the building of a better state and the making of a happier, a more contented, and a more intelligent people.

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THE BIRTH OF THE POPULIST PARTY

Those who have tried within recent years to found a new political party in the United States will be quick to agree that the task is not a light one. It is not merely that the inertia of the American voter is great and his adherence to party tradition firm; there are yet other obstacles to be overcome. The mere business of getting convinced reformers together in sufficient numbers to justify formal organization; the problem of inducing men who are notably contentious to agree upon any common platform or plan of action; the creation of a party machine by which candidates may be named, campaigns conducted, and elections carried — these things constitute some of the initial difficulties that the would-be reformers must confront.

Of all the third parties that have made their appearance in American politics the Populist party of the nineties, which voiced the protest of multitudes in the agricultural South and West against the rising power of an eastern "plutocracy," is perhaps the most outstanding. It did not, to be sure, win many victories as a party; rather, it forced the existing parties to take cognizance of issues they had previously tended to dodge or to ignore. Nor did it long endure. But the Populist party was more than a mere portent. Those early disasters that ordinarily make abortive the best efforts of reformers to found a party, it was fortunate enough to escape; and it lived long enough to achieve an organization and a personality as definite and distinct as either of the older parties ever possessed. For nearly a decade it was one of the "hard facts" of American politics.

The conditions, economic and otherwise, that gave rise to Populistic doctrines have often been described, but to a considerable extent the actual process by which the party, as such,

came into existence has been overlooked.¹ It is the purpose of this paper to supply the deficiency noted. There are many ex-Populists alive who could, if they would, cast much light on this subject; but, apparently half-ashamed of the part they played, they can rarely be induced to talk freely of it. Manuscripts also there may be that will add materially to what is now known, but the three collections that the writer has examined, the Donnelly Papers, the Weller Papers, and the Allen Papers, while revealing enough on some matters, are of little use for this purpose.² Chief reliance for the facts here set down, therefore, has been placed upon numerous newspaper accounts and upon such other printed materials as are now available.

The responsibility for the beginnings of the Populist party is not at all difficult to assign; the party sprang directly from the activities of the various farmer organizations that flourished in the United States of the later eighties. The chief of these societies were the National Farmers' Alliance, the strength of which lay mainly in the Northwest, and the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, which within a few years had swept the South. These orders numbered their adherents by the hundreds of thousands, and even by the millions. Professing much the same principles, they differed markedly from one another in organization. As a contemporary writer put it, the "Northern" Alliance depended "for a bond of cohesion, not

¹ Mention should be made, however, of the contemporary work by Frank L. McVey, "The Populist Movement," in the American Economic Association, *Economic Studies*, 1: 133-209 (August, 1896); and of the following later works: Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War, with Special Reference to Iowa* (Iowa City, 1916); Alex M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, 1922); and Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics* (*Chronicles of America Series*, vol. 45—New Haven, 1920).

² The Donnelly Papers are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, and constitute probably the most extensive Populist collection in existence. The Weller Papers, in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, are of far less consequence. The Allen Papers are still retained by a member of Senator William V. Allen's family, Mrs. W. L. Dowling of Madison, Nebraska.

on rigid laws or rules, but on the common attachment of the members to certain central ideas and principles set forth in its constitution."³ Curiously, it was the Northern Alliance, also, that had the greater regard for state lines. It was, indeed, little more than a loose federation of state units with national officers who received practically nothing by way of compensation and whose powers were slight. But the "Southern" Alliance had a strongly centralized national organization in which state units were definitely subordinate to a supreme council representative of the entire order. This council held annual sessions during which it legislated freely on Alliance affairs and elected a president, an executive board to advise the president between sessions, and a judicial tribunal. The order was incorporated in the District of Columbia, where its foremost officers maintained their headquarters. Its president was well paid and in spite of a possible restraining influence on the part of the judicial tribunal, he was between sessions of the supreme council virtually an autocrat. So led, the Southern Alliance was able through its numerous "official" newspapers to voice a common policy and to take concerted action; while the Northern Alliance, relying more upon individual initiative, played only a small part outside of state and local affairs. There were other differences: the Southern Alliance had a secret ritual, while the Northern Alliance (with rare local exceptions) did not; the Southern Alliance drew the color line sharply, while the Northern Alliance ignored it.⁴

In addition to the two leading orders there were others of lesser magnitude: the Colored Alliance, which was sponsored by the Southern Alliance and carried its principles to the negroes of the South; the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, which had considerable strength in Illinois and members in

³ N. B. Ashby, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, 418 (Des Moines, Iowa, 1890).

⁴ The constitution of the Southern Alliance, as amended at St. Louis in December, 1889, is printed in W. Scott Morgan, *History of the Wheel and Alliance*, 158-170 (St. Louis, 1891); that of the Northern Alliance in Ashby, *Riddle of the Sphinx*, 410-415.

neighboring states; the Grange, which in spite of the collapse in the seventies of the Granger movement had never completely died out; the Patrons of Industry, which sponsored farmer interests, although not strictly composed of farmers, in a number of the states of the Old Northwest; the Farmers' League, which had a certain vogue in the northeastern states; and other orders too numerous and too inconsequential to mention.⁵

To begin with, these orders were strictly nonpartisan in character.⁶ This is not to say, however, that they were non-political, for almost from the first they put pressure upon state legislatures and even upon Congress to pass laws in aid of agriculture. Their leaders talked much of educational propaganda, of social activities, and of business ventures; but they depended for results upon favorable legislation. It was assumed that the farmers could and should work for this legislation through the older parties, which were considered probably "as good as any likely to be organized to replace them."⁷ Unity of purpose and of action was the watchword. Provided only that the farmers could be induced to stand together, candidates for office who were friendly to agriculture could be nominated and elected; and it made small difference whether they were Republicans or

⁵ Ashby, *Riddle of the Sphinx*, chs. 9-12; E. A. Allen, *Labor and Capital*, chs. 14-21 (Cincinnati, 1891); Frank Drew, "The Present Farmers' Movement," in *Political Science Quarterly*, 6: 282-310 (June, 1891).

⁶ That professional third-party politicians saw other possibilities in the movement from the first seems clear enough, but they recognized the necessity of a gradual transition. A letter dated December 26, 1882, from David W. Wood, an officer of the National Farmers' Alliance, to Lemuel H. ("Calamity") Weller, now in the Weller Papers, suggests this idea.

It [*the Alliance*] has been a great educator of the people, and has really been the foundation of much political success. It brings the farmers together for conference. Not being partizan, and not even political in the common acceptance of that term, there is no reason why any farmer should not join it. Once in, the almost inevitable result is that a partizan begins to unbend a little, and to see that his interests are not being served in the halls of legislation; and in the majority of cases he will become an independent voter. Then he will move with the majority of the Alliance on election day, or aid in establishing a party movement as in Nebraska.

⁷ *National Economist*, 1: 145 (May 25, 1889). This weekly, published at Washington, D. C., was the official journal of the Southern Alliance.

Democrats.⁸ The farmer program of reform differed somewhat from state to state and from section to section, but in general it expressed a debtor protest against what was esteemed to be unreasonable oppression by the creditor class. Railways should be compelled to lower their rates, either by laws directly devised for the purpose, or by railway commissions endowed with regulative power. Land monopolies should be broken down. Trusts of every sort and kind should be destroyed. Interest rates should be lowered, laws protecting mortgage holders made less stringent, and national banks abolished outright. More money — paper or silver or both — should be supplied to help carry the increasing volume of business that the growth of the country made inevitable.⁹

It is not surprising that the idea of one all-farmer organization to replace these numerous societies soon began to take form. Barring the possibility of anything stronger than federation with the colored brethren, this notion was especially pleasing to the southern leaders, whose power would be greatly augmented could they extend their control to the membership of the other farm orders. Inasmuch as the Southern Alliance had far outstripped all the rest in the race for members and had its organization more highly perfected, it seemed likely that amalgamation would indeed play into its hands. Certainly the chief propaganda in favor of union came from southern sources. Since the first important step in this direction was to get the northern and southern branches of the Alliance together, southern delegates appeared at the national meeting of the Northern Alliance in February, 1888, and again in January, 1889, to work for union. Seemingly nothing loath, the northern dele-

⁸ Characteristic utterances on this subject may be found in the *National Economist*, 1: 5 (March 14, 1889); the *Great West* (Minneapolis), October 18, 1889; and the *Alliance* (Lincoln, Nebraska), November 29, 30, 1889.

⁹ Drew, in the *Political Science Quarterly*, 6: 293, gives a summary of the various national platforms. See also Morgan, *The Wheel and Alliance*, 141-144; and Ashby, *Riddle of the Sphinx*, 408-411.

gates voted to hold their next meeting at St. Louis in December, 1889, the same time and the same place chosen by the Southern Alliance.¹⁰ Here in due time the delegates from North and South met and here also came delegates from the Colored Alliance, fraternal representatives from the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, and a committee headed by Terence V. Powderly from the Knights of Labor.¹¹ But the proposed union failed of accomplishment, ostensibly because of differences between the northern and southern delegates on the admission of Negro members and on the question of secret work (to which the Southerners steadfastly adhered); actually, no doubt, because the northern leaders did not care to efface themselves entirely, as they feared they might have to do should the two orders become one. Substantial agreement was reached, however, in the demands separately adopted by the two Alliances; demands in which the Knights of Labor and the other farm orders more or less officially concurred.¹²

The St. Louis conference was notable for two reasons: first, it gave the various farm orders substantially one and the same platform of political demands; second, it made perfectly obvious the impossibility of gathering all such organizations to-

¹⁰ Drew, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 6: 284; *National Economist*, 1: 8; 2: 72 (March 14, October 19, 1889).

¹¹ *St. Louis Republic*, December 3, 4, 1889.

¹² Drew, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 6: 284-285; *National Economist*, 2: 215 (December 21, 1889); *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 6, 7, 1889; *St. Louis Republic*, December 7, 1889. Briefly summarized, the St. Louis demands of the Southern Alliance and the Knights of Labor were as follows: (1) abolition of national banks and substitution for their note issues of adequate quantities of legal tender treasury notes; (2) laws by Congress against dealing in futures; (3) free and unlimited coinage of silver; (4) laws prohibiting alien ownership of lands and compelling the railroads to return their excess land holdings; (5) taxation reform to avoid building up "one interest or class at the expense of another"; (6) fractional paper currency; (7) government ownership and operation of the means of transportation and communication. The Southern Alliance also went on record as favoring a plan for farm credits and money inflation known as the sub-treasury. On the latter point see Ashby, *Riddle of the Sphinx*, 302-316.

gether in one great Alliance. Both considerations pointed vaguely in the same direction. The orders had been able to agree upon a platform, and precisely the sort of platform that a new political party would need, should such a party be formed. Moreover, since the alliances could not unite as such, did it not behoove their members to create a separate organization through which they could coöperate as individuals to put their principles into effect? These notions would not down, although the idea of forming a third party was frowned upon by nearly all the Alliance leaders. The *National Economist* found it necessary to say editorially: "A third political party will not be formed by these organizations. It is a non-partisan movement in which each member may remain true to his party, but each one will see to it that this party continues true to him." A little later, however, the same journal could not refrain from the comment that if the farmers should "take it into their heads to act with solidarity in politics, there may be, in the next year or two, some of the liveliest and most surprising politics ever known in these United States."¹³

The farmers did, indeed, "take it into their heads" so to act. In greater and greater numbers they came to realize that their nonpartisan and bipartisan efforts were mainly wasted. As Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota had once said to the Grangers, this creation of a nonpolitical organization was like making a gun "that will do everything but shoot."¹⁴ The men whom they chose on old-party tickets to represent them in the legislature or in Congress almost invariably bowed before the demands of the party machine.¹⁵ The legislation that they desired failed to materialize. As the election of 1890 hove in view,

¹³ *National Economist*, 2: 264; 3: 1 (January 11, March 22, 1890).

¹⁴ Ignatius Donnelly, *Facts for the Granges*, 18 (1873). A copy of this pamphlet, which is made up of extracts from speeches before a number of county granges in southern Minnesota in the spring of 1873, is in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society.

¹⁵ C. S. Walker, "The Farmers' Movement," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 4: 796 (March, 1894).

signs multiplied that the farmers were on the verge of political revolution. In several northwestern states Alliance conventions met to nominate full state and local tickets and even candidates for Congress. In the South, where the need of a solid white vote was still keenly felt, the farmers sought to capture completely the Democratic party machine. The results were startling. In Kansas and Nebraska the Alliance lost the governorships, but elected majorities in one or both houses of the legislatures and some members of Congress. In South Dakota, in Minnesota, and even in Indiana the Alliance showed amazing strength. Throughout the South the old guard of the Democratic party was put to shame — completely routed, as in Georgia, South Carolina, and Tennessee, or thoroughly frightened, as in Alabama, North Carolina, and Missouri.¹⁶ What would the future bring forth?

The successes scored by the farmers in the election of 1890 greatly stimulated the agitation, already under way, for the organization of a third party along national lines. The expectation that an Alliance group, composed of nominal Democrats and Republicans as well as Independents, but acting as a unit on all matters pertaining to agriculture, would now appear in Congress suggested to some the possibility of a farm bloc to occupy seats "on either side of the center aisle in the House of Representatives . . . and to take the place of the Center in the French Assembly."¹⁷ But to others it suggested the immediate necessity of forming a new political party. The opportunity to air these radical views was soon to be vouchsafed, for the supreme council of the Southern Alliance was under call to meet at Ocala, Florida, in December, 1890.

This convention became the Mecca of all the chief advocates of the third-party idea. Perhaps they were intrigued somewhat by the prospect of attending at the same time the "Semi-Tropi-

¹⁶ Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, 236-252; Arnett, *Populist Movement in Georgia*, 116, 122-124.

¹⁷ Washington Gladden, "The Embattled Farmers," in *Forum*, 10: 321 (November, 1890).

cal Exposition" arranged for the entertainment of the visitors by the local state Alliance; and once they had arrived in Florida, they enjoyed such a round of drives, receptions, and demonstrations, with free special trains to points of interest, free accommodations at hotels, and free use of orange and lemon groves as to suggest a Florida of much later date. Nevertheless, for a certain busy few the chief work of the Ocala convention was to press for action looking in the direction of a new party.¹⁸ Among these few none were more interested and active than the gentlemen from Kansas. By virtue of the fact that the Kansas state alliance had left the northern order the year before to join its southern rival, the Sunflower State was officially represented in the supreme council; and the Kansans made it their chief concern to pledge the whole Alliance organization to the support of the third-party movement.¹⁹ But they found the average Southerner definitely opposed to the project. To him the lesson of the election of 1890 seemed to be that the capture of the Democratic party, nationally as well as locally, was not out of the question. Moreover, anything that would threaten the southern one-party system, by which the political ambitions of the colored population could be permanently suppressed, would provoke unlimited criticism. Should the Alliance sponsor any such program, doubtless it would lose heavily in membership and prestige.²⁰

To promote harmony Dr. C. W. Macune, of whom it was well said, "In him beats the heart and in him the brains of our body," proposed a compromise.²¹ It was clear enough, he

¹⁸ *New York Times*, December 3, 30, 1890; F. G. Blood, *Handbook and History of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union*, 41 (Washington, 1893).

¹⁹ Elizabeth N. Barr, "The Populist Uprising," in William E. Connelly, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*, 2:1159 (Chicago, 1918); Raymond C. Miller, "The Background of Populism in Kansas," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 11:469 (March, 1925).

²⁰ *Greensboro* [North Carolina] *Daily Record*, December 6, 1890; H. R. Chamberlain, "The Farmers' Alliance and Other Political Parties," in *Chautauquan*, 13:341 (June, 1891).

²¹ *National Economist*, 4:252 (January 3, 1891).

argued, that there was a strong demand in the North for third-party action; but it was equally clear that consent to form such a party could not now be obtained in the South. Then let the matter rest for a time. On the eve of the next national campaign, about February, 1892, let there be held a delegate convention chosen by all "organizations of producers upon a fair basis of representation." Let this convention draw up a joint set of demands and a plan to enforce them. "If the people by delegates coming direct from them agree that a third party move is necessary, it need not be feared."²² Macune's plan offered a way out, and the convention adopted it. The work of promoting such a convention as was proposed was turned over to a committee on confederation, which held an informal meeting at Ocala and agreed to meet again the following month in Washington together with such similar committees as might be selected by other organizations. The joint committees might then issue the formal call.²³

But the Macune compromise failed to satisfy the extremists among the third-party men, who believed that the inauguration of third-party action should not be so long delayed, and they decided to call a convention in the immediate future regardless of the Alliance decision. The alternative plan might, indeed, have special merits of its own. The call might be so worded as to make it appear that the third-party movement was broader than the Alliance, broader even than the farmers' organizations; and in the final draft delegates were invited from the Independent party, the People's party, the Union Labor party, organizations of former Federal and Confederate soldiers, the Farmers' Alliance,—north and south,—the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Citizens' Alliance, the Knights of

²² Blood, *Handbook*, 66; Supreme Council of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, *Proceedings*, 1890, p. 25 (Washington, 1891). The latter volume contains the records of the meeting at Ocala, Florida, held from December 2 to 8, 1890.

²³ Farmers' Alliance, *Proceedings*, 1890, p. 25, 37; Blood, *Handbook*, 67; Drew, in *Political Science Quarterly*, 6: 309.

Labor, the Colored Farmers' Alliance, and all others who agreed to the St. Louis demands of December, 1889.²⁴ According to Congressman John Davis of Kansas, who claimed to have been consulted in the matter, the call was drawn up by three Vincent brothers from Winfield, Kansas, two of whom were editors of a radical paper known as the *Non-Conformist*. They were aided by Captain C. A. Power of Indiana and by General J. H. Rice of Kansas.²⁵ Individuals present at Ocala and others were asked to sign the call, which at first proposed a convention at Cincinnati on the twenty-third of the following February, but later, when the chairman of the state committee of the Kansas People's party pointed out that the date set would fall during the meeting of the Kansas legislature, at which the Kansas leaders must be present, the date was changed to May 19, 1891.²⁶

In general, northern Alliancemen were favorable to the idea of a third party, although there was much criticism of the laxness and haste involved in the Cincinnati call.²⁷ The annual meeting of the Northern Alliance was held at Omaha in January, 1891, and while the sentiment of the gathering strongly favored the Alliance taking "no part as partisans in a political struggle by affiliating with Republicans or Democrats,"²⁸ a plan differing from that embodied in the Cincinnati call was announced. Six fundamental principles were set forth: (1) free silver; (2) abolition of national banks and substitution thereof of direct issues of legal tender notes; (3) government ownership of all railroads and telegraphs; (4) prohibition of alien land ownership and of gambling in stocks, options, and

²⁴ *New York Times*, December 5, 1890; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 20, 1891.

²⁵ Power is not to be confused with J. H. Powers, for a time president of the National Farmers' Alliance.

²⁶ *New York Times*, December 5, 1890; *Greensboro Daily Record*, December 6, 1890; *National Economist*, 5: 106 (May 2, 1891); Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, 246.

²⁷ *Farmers' Alliance* (Lincoln, Nebraska), April 4, 1891.

²⁸ *National Economist*, 4: 333 (February 17, 1891).

futures; (5) a constitutional amendment requiring the election of president, vice president and senators by direct vote of the people; and (6) the Australian ballot system. A petition stating these principles and calling for a convention to nominate candidates for president and vice president in 1892 upon this platform was to be circulated by means of the executive officers of each industrial organization in every state and territory. Whenever five million signers were reported throughout the United States, all such officers in each state, acting together, were to select a state representative upon a provisional national committee. The committee thus constituted should meet in Cincinnati on February 22, 1892, to fix a ratio of representation based on the number of signatures in each state and to determine the time and place for the meeting of the nominating convention.²⁹

Meanwhile the plan that Macune had proposed at Ocala for a great industrial conference early in 1892 was being worked out. On January 22, 1891, a few representatives from the Southern Alliance, the Knights of Labor, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Colored Farmers' Alliance, and the Citizens' Alliance met at Washington, D. C., and organized what they were pleased to call "The Confederation of Industrial Organizations." February 22, 1892, was fixed upon as the date for the proposed conference of all the orders, and an executive committee was named to decide the place of meeting and all other details. This committee first planned the meeting for Washington, but later chose St. Louis.³⁰

Neither the Omaha plan nor the Washington plan promised speedy enough action to satisfy the extremists, however, and preparations for the Cincinnati convention went on. In the states of the Northwest, especially Kansas, where local third parties had scored successes in the election of 1890 and it was supposed could count on even greater successes if supported by

²⁹ *Farmers' Alliance*, February 21, 1891.

³⁰ *National Economist*, 4: 310 (January 31, 1891); Blood, *Handbook*, 67.

a national party, the early convention was popular.⁸¹ Why take chances on what the Alliance might do later? Better decide the matter at once. There was, moreover, the whole country over, a type of professional third-party politician that fairly doted on this sort of meeting and would not let the idea die. A strictly Alliance gathering might exclude many such, but the Cincinnati call was broad enough to take them all in.⁸²

As the delegates gathered it became increasingly clear that the convention was to consist of hundreds of determined farmers from out of the West and of other hundreds of habitual reformers. One member admitted that this was the fifth national convention that he had attended with the sole object in view of founding a third party, "two in Chicago, two in Cincinnati, and now another in Cincinnati."⁸³ Delegates came who still called themselves Greenbackers; others were followers of Edward Bellamy and took the name Nationalists; still others pinned their faith to Henry George and were proud to be called Single-taxers. "A large majority," commented one observer, himself formerly a third-party man, "are honest, well-intentioned men, a few are dead-beats, and too many . . . don't know what they want and will never be satisfied until they get it." According to one reporter, "All the second and third class hotels are crowded to overflowing."⁸⁴

Known officially as the "National Union Conference," the convention was called to order in Music Hall on the afternoon of May 19, 1892, by Judge W. F. Rightmire of Kansas. Three great inscriptions, "United we stand; divided we fall," "Opposition to all monopolies," and "Nine million mortgaged homes," looked down from the walls upon the assembly, which was seated in state delegations as in national political conventions.⁸⁵ Captain Power, who had worked actively to promote

⁸¹ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 19, 1891.

⁸² *Farmers' Alliance*, April 11, 1891; *National Economist*, 5: 199 (June 13, 1891).

⁸³ *Farmers' Alliance*, May 14, 1891.

⁸⁴ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 19, 20, 1891.

⁸⁵ *Farmers' Alliance*, May 28, 1891.

the conference, read the call from the original document. As he mentioned the name of each organization invited to participate, he asked its representatives to rise. Members of the Farmers' Alliances were clearly more numerous than members of any other orders, but it was evident that many of the delegates were "joiners," and belonged to several orders. A credentials committee solved the difficult problem of the allotment of seats by giving to practically everyone with any sort of papers the right to a place in the convention. Said one observer, "I think that if anyone would sprinkle a few hayseeds on his coat he would be admitted to the floor and have a right to vote." Over a hundred members of the Reform Press Association, which was meeting in Cincinnati at the time, were allowed seats in the convention, and some Southerners who were present without any credentials whatever were allowed the privilege of the floor with right to participate in debate. Altogether more than fourteen hundred delegates were recognized, representing some thirty-three states and territories; but more than four hundred of them were from Kansas, more than three hundred from Ohio, about a hundred and fifty each from Illinois and Nebraska, and the rest mainly from other northwestern states. Few Southerners attended. The credentials committee ruled that delegates representing more than one order could have only one vote, but a proposition that each state have one vote and one additional for each fifty delegates was voted down. The gathering might as well have been in name what it was in fact, a mass convention of self-appointed delegates.⁸⁶

After effecting an organization, the convention authorized the various state delegations to select members of the customary committees, including the all-important committee on resolutions. At this juncture Donnelly of Minnesota created a scene by suggesting that members of a national executive committee should be chosen at the same time, thus assuming that

⁸⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 19, 20, 21, 1891; *Times-Star* (Cincinnati), May 18, 20, 1891.

there would be a third party. This aroused James B. Weaver of Iowa, and "Amid much confusion he strided [*sic*] down the middle aisle. He shook his finger angrily at Donnelly, and denounced him for endeavoring to pledge the convention on the sly without there being a word of discussion to the most vital question it had to consider."⁸⁷ Donnelly's motion was not brought to a vote, and order was restored. The incident, however, was significant because it revealed the two points of view held by the delegates. The vast majority, including nearly all the Kansans, were with Donnelly and were ready to form a third party on the spot. A more conservative group, headed by Weaver, were for drawing up resolutions and perhaps for suggesting the advisability of forming a third party, but the actual launching of the party they would postpone until the election year.⁸⁸ Doubtless the conservatives hoped that by biding their time they might win greater support from the South. President L. L. Polk of the Southern Alliance sent a letter to the convention counseling delay. He thought that the coming year might more properly be used for "education in the principles of reform" and if then, on full reflection, the third party seemed necessary, let it come. But according to one account Polk's letter was "received with painful silence, which was broken at the conclusion by a delegate from Arkansas moving that 'we sit down on that communication as hard as we can.'"⁸⁹ This remark occasioned great applause, but a motion to refer the letter to the committee on resolutions was put and carried.⁹⁰

The work of reconciling the divergent opinions expressed by Donnelly and Weaver, if it could be done, fell naturally to the committee on resolutions, of which Donnelly, whose facile tongue and pen were everywhere known and recognized, was made chairman. Donnelly seems, indeed, to have been mainly responsible for the invention of a formula that would suit both

⁸⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 20, 1891.

⁸⁸ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 18, 19, 20, 1891.

⁸⁹ *National Economist*, 5:34 (April 4, 1891); *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 21, 1891.

factions.⁴⁰ The committee, he explained later to the convention, had before it two alternatives: (1) form a new party at once without regard to anyone else, or (2) in the interest of harmony concentrate on the convention to be held on February 22, 1892. The latter course was finally decided upon, with important reservations. The resolutions announced the immediate formation of the People's party with a national executive committee to consist of a chairman, elected by the convention in general session, and three members from each state represented, elected by the delegations of the respective states. This committee was directed to attend the proposed St. Louis conference and "if possible unite with that and all other reform organizations there assembled. If no satisfactory arrangement can be effected this committee shall call a national convention not later than June 1, 1892, to name a presidential ticket."⁴¹ A third party was thus assured. If the St. Louis conference failed to agree to it, the national executive committee emanating from the Cincinnati convention was authorized to go ahead. When the astute plan that the Donnelly committee had devised, together with the platform upon which the new party was to stand, was announced, the convention broke forth into prolonged applause. "It took nearly half an hour for the excited delegates to cool their pent-up enthusiasm."⁴²

The platform adopted at Cincinnati contained little that was new. Rather, it sought to codify and restate the demands previously adopted at St. Louis, at Ocala, and at Omaha. The Prohibitionists, who were present at Cincinnati under the leadership of John P. St. John, sought in vain to secure the inclusion of their pet project, and the woman suffragists fared only a little better.⁴³ "We apologize," said Donnelly, in explaining the report of the committee, "because we have not

⁴⁰ The Donnelly Scrapbooks, especially volume 8, are full of clippings on this subject.

⁴¹ *Farmers' Alliance*, May 28, 1891.

⁴² *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 21, 1891.

⁴³ *Times-Star*, May 21, 1891; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 21, 1891.

been able to cover all the interests in the minds of men here today. . . . We believe that the party that, in such a crisis as this, shortens its platform, lengthens its muster roll. . . . We feel that we are not here so much to proclaim a creed as to erect a banner around which the swarms of hosts of reform could rally." One paper commented that a banner was a rather poor substitute for a creed, but as a matter of fact, the creed was fairly complete.⁴⁴

Most of the state delegations present at Cincinnati promptly elected their three national committeemen, and the convention chose H. E. Taubeneck of Illinois as national chairman. The newly formed committee then met, chose the other necessary officers, encouraged third-party men in each state to proceed in their own way with the selection of a state executive committee, promised to this end the help of the national committee, and discussed plans for the future.⁴⁵

The course pursued at Cincinnati won approval on all sides. Radicals everywhere rejoiced immoderately that the new party was an actual fact. One Kansas delegate said that had any-

⁴⁴ Clippings in the Donnelly Scrapbooks, volume 8, dated May 21, 1891. The Cincinnati demands differed from the St. Louis demands, stated *ante*, n. 12, mainly by including the sub-treasury plan along with the other demands for financial reform, by favoring the direct election of president, vice president, and United States senators, and by urging government control of the means of transportation and communication (favored at Ocala over government ownership), but "if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing . . . government ownership." Separate resolutions, not officially a part of the platform, urged the individual states and territories to look with favor on universal suffrage, called upon Congress to compensate the Union veterans of the Civil War for the losses they had suffered by virtue of their being paid in depreciated paper currency, asked for an eight-hour day for labor, condemned the directors of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago for refusing the "minimum rate of wages asked for by the labor organizations of Chicago," and expressed a strong desire to have "the expensive and dilatory litigation" over the opening of Oklahoma brought to a speedy end. *National Economist*, 5: 162 (May 30, 1891).

⁴⁵ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 21, 1891; *Times-Star*, May 21, 1891; *Farmers' Alliance*, May 28, 1891.

thing less been accomplished, the representatives from his state "wouldn't have dared to go home."⁴⁶ Such Northerners as had counseled delay, — Weaver and "Sockless" Jerry Simpson, for example, — felt also that their advice had been taken. Weaver admitted that a new party had been formed, a fact that Simpson at first refused to concede, but the two agreed that the main action was now postponed until the February conference of 1892.⁴⁷ The Omaha plan for the formation of a third party, favored by the Northern Alliance at its last national meeting, but never especially popular, was now definitely dropped. Officials of the Southern Alliance, who had in general opposed holding the Cincinnati convention, professed complete satisfaction with the result. The *National Economist* thought the decision "wise and conservative" and well calculated to supply "the link that will unite the farmers with all other occupations in the great approaching conflict."⁴⁸ One significant result of the Cincinnati convention that seems generally to have been overlooked at the time was that the professional third-party men insured for themselves, quite apart from what the farmer organizations might do later, a prominent place in the councils of the new party. They were "in on the ground floor."

As for the Southerners, there was a growing disposition to concede that the attempt to work through the Democratic party was a failure. Local successes were offset by the fact that concessions from the national organization were practically unobtainable. Leaders of the Southern Alliance were particularly aggrieved that the sub-treasury plan, a scheme for the relief of agriculture and the inflation of the currency that they had pushed assiduously ever since the St. Louis meeting of 1889, found no more favor from Democratic politicians than from Republicans and was scornfully rejected by Con-

⁴⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 21, 1891.

⁴⁷ *Times-Star*, May 21, 1891.

⁴⁸ 5:161 (May 30, 1891). See also *Farmers' Alliance*, April 4, 1891.

gress.⁴⁰ President Polk of the Southern Alliance voiced a general sentiment through the columns of his paper, the *Progressive Farmer*, when he said: "The new party has adopted the Alliance demands into its platform. Does anyone suppose intelligent Alliacemen will vote against a party that adopts those demands, and in favor of a party that not only fails to adopt, but resists those demands?"⁴¹ Polk repeatedly made it clear that the southern farmers preferred to remain in the Democratic party; but he never failed to threaten their secession from it in case the Alliance program of reform, national as well as local, were not adopted as the Democratic program of reform. During the summer of 1891 a delegation of third-party men from Kansas visited the South, presumably to impress upon southern Alliacemen the necessity of independent political action; and a little later Polk made three addresses in Kansas to encourage the western revolvers in their hope of southern sympathy and help.⁴²

When the next meeting of the supreme council of the Southern Alliance was held in November, 1891, this time at Indianapolis, the adherence of that body to the third-party movement seemed assured. At this gathering the executive committee of the newly formed People's party put in its appearance, bent on obtaining the full coöperation of the Southern Alliance in the forthcoming campaign; here also appeared the executive committee of the Confederation of Industrial Organizations to repeat the call for the February, 1892, conference at St. Louis, and to preach a type of joint action by all reform orders that logically could end only in support of the independent party.⁴³ While numerous Southerners voiced their distress at the

⁴⁰ *National Economist*, 4: 133 (November 15, 1890); *Farmers' Alliance*, July 19, 1890; J. E. Bryan, *The Farmers' Alliance; Its Origin, Progress and Purposes*, 99 (Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1891).

⁴¹ *Progressive Farmer* (Raleigh, North Carolina), June 3, 1891. Compare the same paper for February 2, 1892.

⁴² *Greensboro Daily Record*, August 27, 28, September 2, 15, 21, 1891.

⁴³ *National Economist*, 6: 233 (December 26, 1891).

thought of dividing the Democratic vote of the South, and while some of them even went the length of withdrawing entirely from the Alliance, evidently a majority of the delegates were ready to concede that the third party had come to stay and that they might as well throw the strength of their organization to it. They voted with enthusiasm to instruct Alliance Congressmen to keep out of party caucuses at Washington and they did what they could to insure the nomination of their president, Colonel Polk, to head the third-party ticket in the coming campaign.⁵³

The scene was now fully set for the St. Louis conference, which was to determine finally and formally the attitude of the great "industrial organizations" of the country toward the third-party movement. To this gathering the well-known farm orders were all invited to send delegates, as were also such organizations of manual laborers as cared to participate; for, while the agricultural societies took the lead, they were exceedingly anxious to have strong labor support. Practically all who were invited, and many besides, responded to the call. Taking advantage of the special railway rates offered, thousands of farmers and their political friends flocked to the Missouri metropolis. The attendance, including delegates and interested observers, went far beyond the most sanguine hopes.⁵⁴ According to one reporter, those who came "were mostly gray-haired, sun-burned and roughly clothed men. . . . The 'ward-bummer', the political 'boss', and the 'worker at the polls' were conspicuously absent." Held in Exposition Music Hall, the convention turned out to be a "singing session" and in that respect different from "any other political meeting ever witnessed in St. Louis." True, the Populist Marseillaise had not yet been discovered, but seemingly it was confidently ex-

⁵³ This convention is fully covered in Ernest D. Stewart, "The Populist Party in Indiana," in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, 14: 354 (December, 1918).

⁵⁴ *Southern Mercury* (Dallas, Texas), February 11, 1892; *National Economist*, 6: 380 (February 27, 1892); *Blood, Handbook*, 67.

pected and numerous aspiring airs were given a trial. Like all large audiences, this one was a thrilling spectacle. "The banners of the different States rose above the delegates throughout the hall, fluttering like the flags over an army encamped. The great stage, brilliant and vivid with the national colors, was filled with the leaders of the Alliance, the Knights of Labor, the single tax people, the Prohibitionists, the Anti-Monopolists, the People's party, the Reform Press, and the Women's Alliance. To the right of the stage was stretched a broad poster of bunting which bore the words: 'We do not ask for sympathy or pity. We ask for justice.'"⁵⁵

According to the call each organization invited to St. Louis was entitled to twenty-five delegates-at-large from the United States and one additional delegate for every ten thousand members. In the selection of delegates, however, not much attention was paid to this rule; indeed, it made little difference whether an organization had been invited to send delegates or not, for any that wished to be represented sent delegates regardless of formality. It thus became a matter of considerable importance to have a credentials committee pass upon the merits of those clamoring to participate in the work of the convention. Until this was accomplished, little else could be done. Ben Terrell, president of the "Confederation of Industrial Organizations," called the meeting to order; a temporary organization was effected, and the eight organizations included in the call were authorized each to choose three representatives upon the credentials committee.⁵⁶ Pending the report of this committee, the convention yielded itself to the ministrations of its favorite orators. Donnelly was "historical, classical, eloquent, amusingly exaggerative." Weaver was called upon for a speech and declined "until there was something before the convention for him to speak on," but Colonel Polk, Mrs. Mary

⁵⁵ *National Economist*, 6: 394 (March 5, 1892).

⁵⁶ *St. Louis Republic*, February 23, 1892; *National Economist*, 6: 380 (February 27, 1892).

E. Lease, Simpson, Powderly, and many others, were undeterred by such irrelevancies. The feast of oratory continued until well into the second day, for the credentials committee, in spite of an all-night session by a subcommittee, was even then unprepared to report.⁶⁷

When the committee did report, the reasons for delay became clear. Organizations "the existence of which none of the old delegates had ever heard of before" clamored for recognition. Some of these orders were suspected of "mushroom growth and doubtful purposes," but they were all given a hearing, and some eight hundred delegates, representing twenty-one different orders, were awarded seats. On motion of Donnelly, Miss Frances E. Willard and two other Women's Christian Temperance Union workers were given places in the convention, raising the number of orders represented to twenty-two. Thus amended, the work of the credentials committee was accepted by the convention, although there was much exhibition of temper on the part of some who were not received. One tempestuous would-be delegate had to be "unceremoniously removed."⁶⁸

On one contest the credentials committee refused to rule. Some Georgia seats were fought over so fiercely by delegates favoring and delegates opposing a third party that the matter was left for the convention itself to decide, the committee recommending, however, that the third-party men be seated.

⁶⁷ *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 23, 1892; *National Economist*, 6: 394 (March 5, 1892).

⁶⁸ *National Economist*, 6: 380, 395, 396 (February 27, March 5, 1892); *St. Louis Republic*, February 23, 1892; *Southern Mercury*, February 25, 1892. Seats allotted to the eight orders included in the call were as follows:

National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union	246
Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association	53
Knights of Labor	82
National Citizens' Industrial Alliance	27
Patrons of Industry	75
National Citizens' Alliance	25
National Colored Alliance and Co-operative Union	97
National Farmers' Alliance	97

When this recommendation was promptly followed by the convention, it became apparent that the conservative element was in the minority and that in all probability action favorable to the third party would be taken.⁵⁹ The election of Polk as permanent chairman likewise scored a victory for the third-party men, for his willingness to carry the Alliance into the new political party was now well known. He was elected over Ben Terrell, who was reputed still to hope for reform through Democratic channels.⁶⁰ Nevertheless there was a strong undercurrent of opposition to placing the convention on record as favorable to the third party. Led by Leonidas F. Livingston of Georgia, a number of southern delegates made it perfectly plain that they would never consent to any program that would threaten the unity of the white vote in the South and they promised to bolt the convention should such action be taken. To avoid disruption, therefore, the third party decision was waived and the convention devoted itself to the business of drawing up a satisfactory list of demands.⁶¹

The work of the platform committee thus became the major concern of the convention. This committee, consisting of one member from each state and one for every twenty-five delegates from each organization given representation in the convention, drew up the usual demands. On only one matter of consequence was there anything new about them. The Ocala and Cincinnati conventions had swung away from the uncompromising stand of the first St. Louis convention on the matter of government ownership of the railway, telegraph, and telephone systems of the country; but now, under pressure from the labor leaders and the anti-railroad delegates of the Northwest, government ownership was again indorsed. This, it was

⁵⁹ *National Economist*, 6: 395 (March 5, 1892); *St. Louis Republic*, February 24, 1892; Arnett, *Populist Movement in Georgia*, 131.

⁶⁰ *St. Louis Republic*, February 24, 1892; *People's Party Paper* (Atlanta), March 17, 1892.

⁶¹ *St. Louis Republic*, February 23, 24, 1892; *New York Tribune*, February 24, 1892.

well understood, would do some violence to opinion in the South, where such measures were traditionally regarded as "the essence of paternalism and centralization," but the northern delegates gave in on the matter of the sub-treasury, for which they cared little, and the railway plank was essentially the price of the concession.⁹²

But the platform committee reported a preamble as well as a platform, the former far exceeding the latter in length and in the richness of its rhetoric. This preamble, written by Donnelly, drew heavily upon the language of the convention call and also upon that of a "Populist Manifesto" issued by the Kansas state central committee in November, 1891.⁹³ It was none the less a unique and startling document, which not only carried with it a ringing denunciation of the existing ills of society but also, inferentially, the promise of a third party to remedy these ills. Donnelly read the preamble to the convention and was followed by Hugh Kavanaugh, the chairman of the platform committee, who read the actual demands. "At the conclusion, as if by magic, everyone was upon his feet in an instant and thundering cheers from 10,000 throats greeted these demands as the road to liberty. Hats, papers, handkerchiefs, etc., were thrown into the air; wraps, umbrellas and parasols waved; cheer after cheer thundered and reverberated through the vast hall, reaching the outside of the building, where thousands [who] had been waiting the outcome, joined in the applause till for blocks in every direction the exultation made the din indescribable. For fully ten minutes the cheering continued, reminding one of the lashing of the ocean against a rocky beach during a hurricane." "Shouts for Donnelly went up all over the hall . . . and people crowded around him and grasped his hands reaching up from the orchestra to greet him." Livingston, who was opposed to third-party

⁹² *National Economist*, 6: 395, 402 (March 5, 12, 1892); *Southern Mercury*, February 23, 1893.

⁹³ *Southern Mercury*, January 14, 1892; *National Economist*, 6: 233 (December 26, 1891); Barr, in *History of Kansas*, 2: 1162.

action, perhaps sought to avoid any appearance of committing the conference to the new party by moving the adoption of the *platform*. The motion was carried with enthusiasm, but "some delegate saw through the ruse, got the ear of Donnelly, and rushed through a motion to include the preamble."⁶⁴

With the platform and some minor resolutions adopted, the convention adjourned *sine die*, but by preconcerted plan the delegates, or at least the great majority of them, remained in their seats. Thereupon Dr. Macune promptly took the chair, and began the organization of a mass meeting of "individual and independent citizens who love their country." General Weaver was made the presiding officer and to him was delegated the one important task that the adjourned session performed. This was the appointment of a committee of fifteen to confer with the executive committee of the People's party with regard to the calling of a nominating convention.⁶⁵

The executive committee of the People's party was, of course, on hand, although it had taken no part as such in the St. Louis conference. It now met, absorbed the committee that Weaver appointed, and proceeded to the business in hand. The matter of greatest immediate concern proved to be the date of the proposed nominating convention. Donnelly was eager to have the convention meet before either of the old parties could have a chance to prepare for the People's party onslaught and he debated the matter earnestly with his old antagonist, Weaver. Weaver and others who agreed with him held that it would help the People's party cause if when the nominating convention met definite information could be on hand to show that the St. Louis platform had been rejected by Democrats and Republicans alike. Voters who agreed to the St. Louis demands would then feel that they had been turned out of

⁶⁴ *Southern Mercury*, March 3, 1892; *St. Louis Republic*, February 25, 1892; *People's Party Paper*, March 3, 1892; *National Economist*, 6: 396 (March 5, 1892).

⁶⁵ *National Economist*, 6: 385, 397 (March 5, 1892); *Farmers' Alliance*, March 3, 1892.

their old party home because of their principles and they would have no choice but to join the new party. Weaver's policy, which Donnelly declared "suicidal," was adopted, and July 4, 1892, was fixed upon as the date of meeting.⁶⁶

Other necessary preliminaries were taken care of by subcommittees. To a group of ten, appointed by Chairman H. E. Taubeneck, was intrusted the task of selecting the meeting place and it chose Omaha over Kansas City, St. Louis, and Indianapolis.⁶⁷ To a group of five was given the more important duty of drawing up the convention call. This subcommittee discharged its obligations promptly by inviting all those who approved of the preamble and platform adopted at St. Louis to hold mass meetings in their respective towns and villages on the last Saturday in March (March 26) to ratify the St. Louis demands and to take the initial steps toward the election of delegates to the Omaha convention.⁶⁸ As later elaborated the plan of organization was as follows: each of the March meetings was urged to form a local organization and to appoint a committee of three to meet at the county seat not later than April 16. The business of this April gathering was to fix the time, place, and basis of representation for county conventions and to appoint a committee of three to confer with like committees from all other counties in the same legislative and Congressional districts to fix the time and place and basis of representation for legislative and Congressional district conventions. The executive committees of each state, already organized or to be organized in conformity with the plan adopted at Cincinnati, were asked to meet as early as convenient and to fix dates for state nominating conventions, designating how the delegates from their state to the national convention were to be chosen. Eight delegates-at-large from each state and

⁶⁶ *St. Louis Republic*, February 25, 1892; *Farmers' Alliance*, March 3, 1892; *National Economist*, 6: 385, 397 (March 5, 1892).

⁶⁷ *St. Louis Republic*, February 26, 1892; *Farmers' Alliance*, March 3, 1892.

⁶⁸ *National Economist*, 6: 385, 397 (March 5, 1892).

four delegates from each Congressional district were authorized — the total number for the Fourth of July convention thus being set by accident or intent at 1,776. The names of delegates as fast as they were chosen were to be sent to Robert Schilling, secretary of the national committee, and donations to the campaign treasury, which were earnestly solicited, to M. C. Rankin, the national treasurer.⁶⁹

Building thus from the very foundation, the actual construction of the party edifice went on. Not everywhere could a complete organization be worked out, for not everywhere was there sufficient third-party sentiment to justify it, but when the Omaha convention met in July between thirteen and fourteen hundred accredited delegates were on hand to be counted; this in spite of the fact that "probably through some oversight" many railroads had failed to grant the usual convention rates to the third-party delegates. Marion Cannon of California declared that "it was not by accident that the Pacific coast delegates have been overlooked. Our request for the customary courtesy was denied deliberately and with insolence." When the convention got around to the matter, sentiment seemed to oppose asking "any privilege whatever" from the railroads; but it was voted to refer to the Interstate Commerce Commission the propriety of railroads discriminating against one and in favor of other political conventions. Thousands of observers, not participants, also attended the Omaha meeting, and the thrifty management sold season tickets to the sessions at ten dollars a ticket.⁷⁰

Owing to the desire to make nominations on the Fourth of July, the delegates met for temporary organization on Saturday, July 2. The procedure followed in the main the well-known rules of the older parties and need not be recounted in detail. A platform committee was appointed to report before

⁶⁹ *Farmers' Alliance*, March 3, 1892; *National Economist*, 6: 385, 397; 7: 41 (March 5, April 2, 1892).

⁷⁰ *Omaha World-Herald*, July 1-5, 1892; *National Economist*, 7: 279 (July 16, 1892); *People's Party Paper*, July 8, 1892.

the nominations were made and on the following Monday presented the results of its deliberations. But the Omaha platform was no hastily assembled document; it contained little that had not been adopted by other conventions — at St. Louis in 1889, Ocala in 1890, Cincinnati and Indianapolis in 1891, Omaha and St. Louis earlier in 1892. The preamble that Donnelly had presented so dramatically at the Washington's birthday convention in St. Louis was repeated to make a perfect Fourth of July in Omaha. Reforms that had to do with land, transportation, and finance were still the chief concern.⁷¹

The reception which these well-worn demands received showed how admirably they fitted the temper of the crowd. For the anti-railroad plank there was a "tumultuous ovation," exceeding in volume the applause for the free-silver plank. The land plank was greeted by a "regular Baptist camp meeting chorus." And finally on the adoption of the platform "the convention broke over all restraint and went wild in a demonstration that," if we may believe a none too grammatical reporter, "had a likeness of the enthusiastic Bastille demonstration in France, the whole convention, audience and delegates, rose to their feet and the first platform of the People's party was ushered into the world with a scene of enthusiasm that in its intensity and earnestness surpassed the cyclonic ovation which greeted the mention of the name of James G. Blaine at Minneapolis. The crowd broke forth time and again in applause, until the leaders finally concluded to stem the tide, and after vigorous efforts secured it. The band played 'Yankee Doodle' and it lasted twenty minutes." Little wonder that a platform so christened should come to have among Populists a sort of religious sanction. These demands were not like ordinary political demands — they were a sacred creed.⁷²

The familiar story of the nominations — how the death of Colonel Polk removed the only serious southern contender for

⁷¹ *National Economist*, 7: 257 (July 9, 1892).

⁷² *National Economist*, 7: 279 (July 16, 1892); *Southern Mercury*, November 14, 1895; Appletons' *Annual Cyclopadia*, 1901, p. 421.

first place and left the choice to the North; how a committee went to interview Judge Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois, hoping to secure his consent to head the ticket, and failed; how the merits of the various leaders were discussed and the field narrowed down to two, an "old-timer," Weaver of Iowa, and a newcomer in third-party circles, Senator James H. Kyle of South Dakota; and how the old-timer won — these things have been stated many times before. After all, the distinctive feature of the convention was that "the enthusiasm was all spent on the platform, while at Minneapolis and Chicago they spent their enthusiasm upon the candidates."⁷³ Whatever else may be said of it, the People's party was born a party of principle and those who brought it forth were in deadly earnest. Nor did they lack a genuine grievance. As one who saw what went on at Omaha observed, "this dramatic and historical scene must have told every quiet, thoughtful witness that there was something at the back of all this turmoil more than the failure of crops or the scarcity of ready cash."⁷⁴ Whether they knew it or not, the delegates were beginning the last phase of a long and perhaps a losing struggle — the struggle to save agricultural America from the devouring jaws of industrial America.

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⁷³ *National Economist*, 7: 279, 293 (July 16, 23, 1892).

⁷⁴ Frank B. Tracy, "Menacing Socialism in the Western States," in *Forum*, 15: 332 (May, 1893).

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL MINNESOTA: A SURVEY OF UNPUBLISHED SOURCES¹

A comprehensive survey of the unpublished sources in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society relating to central Minnesota would not be feasible within the limits of this paper; but perhaps some idea of the nature of these materials may be obtained from a discussion of one or two manuscripts relating to each of various localities and phases of the history of the region.

For years before the coming of settlers to central Minnesota, white men — fur-traders and *voyageurs* — were paddling across the lakes and up and down the rivers and plodding over difficult trails through the unexplored woods; and the early history of the region is mostly a story of their activities. The extensive manuscript collection of the historical society is rich in materials such as letters, account books, diaries, and reminiscences that relate to the fur trade in the Northwest or to individual traders or posts in this general region. Among these manuscripts is one entitled "Indian Trade and Its Progress, from the Discovery of the St. Lawrence River by the French," which was written by Allan Morrison, one of the earliest traders in the central part of the state. It is a very good account of the northwest fur trade in general and of the trade in central and northern Minnesota in particular. Under the subtitle, "The way the Trade was done amongst the Chippeways," he describes various trading posts and names individual traders and their routes. He explains the system of credits employed with the Indians and mentions articles used for trading. He gives an account of the Chippewa and relates in detail the incident that he claims gave the Leech Lake Indians the name "Pillagers" — the robbery of a trader en-

¹ This paper was read on June 14, 1928, at the Crosby session of the seventh state historical convention. *Ed.*

camped on the Crow Wing a few miles above Gull River. Of himself, he explains that in 1823, as an employee of the American Fur Company, he "was sent to oppose a trader that had come up the Mississippi to the two rivers." He then continues, "on my arrival to where Fort Ripley now stands I learned where he was building his Trading establishment. my instructions were that I should build close by him but being possative I could do better a short distance above, I built my house and store on an island." Morrison remained at Crow Wing for fifty years and more, first trading with the Indians and later, when the Indian trade lost its importance, farming. He was a representative in the first territorial legislature and Morrison County was named for him and for his brother William, also a trader.

In the spring of 1849 Fort Gaines, later called "Fort Ripley," was established on the west bank of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Crow Wing. Among the materials relating to the fort is a manuscript history, presumably by one Jasper W. Johnson, compiled from the archives of the war department and accompanied by copies of original maps of the reservation. The author gives as the reasons for the establishment of the fort to protect the Winnebago Indians, who were moved to their reserve west of the Mississippi the previous year, and to keep them on their reservation, as well as "to prevent the other Northern bands of . . . Chippewas from warring with their hereditary enemies, the Sioux." Besides important events in the history of the fort itself, an account of the long warfare between the Sioux and the Chippewa is included.

A very interesting record of the life and conditions at Fort Ripley is the diary kept by the Reverend Solon W. Manney during the eight years when he was chaplain at the fort, from 1851 to 1859. Life at this frontier post was for the most part uneventful but by no means dull. Manney held religious services, taught school, visited the sick, assisted in the post office, and served on boards to examine miscreants. The brief entry for March 20, 1856, "No Service. Had to fix the stove pipe,"

would seem to indicate that he also performed the duties of sexton in the chapel. With the fort doctor or officers of the garrison he hunted grouse, partridges, and pheasants and fished for pickerel. On one occasion Hole-in-the-Day, the Chippewa chief, and his wives took tea with Manney and they discussed "the introduction of Christianity among his tribe & also . . . his own views and feelings in regard to it." On Manney's birthday the "Gentlemen and Ladies of the Garrison," as he puts it, dined with him. Dining was no small item in his life. Seldom does he neglect to record what he had for dinner, and often he notes little else. In August of each year there are numerous entries such as this: "Green corn for dinner. *Very fine.*" It is hard to tell whether green corn or green peas held the more prominent place in his affections. It is certain that green peas were important enough to be coupled with the firing of a national salute on the Fourth of July. Here is the entry: "July 4, 1858 Sunday: Morning Service in the Chapel National Salute of 33 Guns fired at Noon. Green Peas for dinner." Perhaps the reason for this tender affection for vegetables was the fact that he raised them in his own garden, upon which he lavished a great deal of time and care.

Manney kept a more or less faithful record of temperatures. On January 23, 1854, he wrote: "Mercury in Ther. frozen. Ther graduated to 45° . . . Mercury clear below the bulb . . . some mercury was put in a charcoal cup and exposed. It froze solid in less than 15 minutes." He records marriages, births, deaths, and baptisms at the fort, and he never fails to enter the text of his sermon on Sunday. An interesting entry is that recording the sale of the reservation on October 20, 1857. "Besides the six claimants who were allowed to enter their land at \$1 1/2," he writes, "the whole Reserve, about 60,000 acres sold for 1800 dollars, 3 cts an acre. The last 40 acres sold, brought the highest price, 25 cts."

On July 31, 1857, shortly after the withdrawal of the troops from the fort, Manney wrote: "We may now expect personal violence & murders & the destruction of property on the Ceded

Lands and all along the frontier. The withdrawal of the troops from this section can result in nothing else." His fears proved to be well founded. The Indians became insolent and threatening. The cattle were killed at the Gull Lake mission and in August a white man was killed by three Indians. The culprits were arrested, but a mob took the prisoners from the sheriff and hanged them. The Indians in the vicinity were incensed and threatened revenge. The missionaries from Leech Lake and Gull Lake were forced to take refuge in the fort, where they stayed for several months. It was reported that Hole-in-the-Day planned to have one of his braves proceed to Crow Wing and kill the first white man he met and have others burn all the mission buildings at Gull Lake. The fort was soon reoccupied and these threats were not carried out.

Manney records that in the spring of 1858 there was trouble between the Sioux and the Chippewa. A large party of Sioux went into the Chippewa country in pursuit of an escaped captive, causing general fright among the whites and the Indians of the region. Fifteen Chippewa scalps were taken within two days, according to the diary. On May 3, 1858, Manney wrote: "Called in from the Garden to day about 4 p. m. by an alarm from the Bugle. Cause the proximity of a large body of Sioux. Guns taken to the block house. Water drawn, etc & men quartered there ready for an emergency. We learned today that seven Chippewa scalps were taken at Swan River last night."

Hard on the heels of the traders and in advance of settlers came the missionaries — a sequence typical in the development of Indian country. In 1852 an Episcopal mission to the Chippewa, called "St. Columba," was established at Gull Lake by the Reverend James Lloyd Breck. Lydia B. Funk, a teacher at St. Columba in 1856, in an account written some years later, describes the mission buildings. There was a whitewashed log church surrounded by a cemetery, and near by was a mission house, also of whitewashed logs, inclosed by a picket fence. "The house was very finely situated," she records, "fronting

the lake, which was about fifteen or twenty rods distant, with a gentle slope almost to the water's edge." A letter written by Breck in 1857 summarizes the work accomplished by the mission.

There was . . . with me one of the best native Interpreters in the Chippewa nation [*he refers to John Johnson Enmegahbowh*], besides both male and female assistants for the schoolroom, for the domestic departments, for the shop and the field. Men including chiefs and braves went to work with the axe and the plow and other implements used in agriculture and carpentry. Women rapidly learned sewing, cookery, washing and ironing. . . . Houses were built and as many as thirty-five children at one time admitted with in their walls for education in the arts and duties of life, as well as in book learning.

In the fall of 1856 the Reverend E. Steele Peake succeeded Breck, who left St. Columba to establish a new mission at Leech Lake. A comparison of Peake's journey from St. Paul to Gull Lake, as described in his diary, with the trip made by the present convention party over much the same route may prove interesting:

Nov. 10 [1856] Left . . . St. Paul by stage coach up the Mississippi at 4 a. m. following East side to Crow Wing, the end of the road — from which a government road extended to Leech Lake, 70 miles north. We arrived at Watab about 2 o. c. at night

Tuesday 11th and remained there to breakfast, going on to dinner at Little Falls & Belle Prairie stopping a few minutes at Fort Ripley with Rev. S. W. Manney & family Chaplain of the fort and reaching Morrisons Crow Wing at 5 00 P. M.

Wednesday, nov. 12 — Left Morrison's Crow Wing at 6 A M . . . Reached St. Columba Mission Gull Lake at 10 A M . . . Mr. Fairbanks took me over to . . . the Indian Reservation . . . we met in the pine forests great numbers of Chippewa Women carrying heavy wigwams &c on their backs on their way to the Annual payment at the Agency.

In 1859 Peake moved to Crow Wing, leaving Enmegahbowh, the Ottawa Indian who had been his interpreter and was now an ordained minister, in charge at Gull Lake. Enmegahbowh remained there until the summer of 1862, when the mission buildings were burned by the Chippewa during the

Sioux Outbreak. Some reminiscences of Bishop Whipple include interesting biographical data concerning Enmegahbowh, who was one of the most influential of the missionaries among the Chippewa.

At the time of the Sioux Outbreak in 1862 rumors spread among the white people of central Minnesota that the Chippewa under Hole-in-the-Day were planning an attack. There was general panic; martial law was proclaimed over the surrounding country by the commander at Fort Ripley; and settlers of the region fled to the fort for protection. Although no attack was made, it was some time before the excitement died down. There are several manuscripts containing accounts of this disturbance or references to it, including "Remarks and Reminiscences . . . on Hole-in-the-Day and the Sioux Outbreak," by Mrs. Abby Fuller Abbe, who was living in Crow Wing at the time and took refuge in the fort; a manuscript narrative by Enmegahbowh with the title, "Extracts from Letters Written to Hon. Nathan Richardson"; and numerous letters in the state archives from settlers and others of the region appealing to Governor Ramsey for protection. Peake, in a letter to his wife dated at Fort Ripley, September 12, 1862, reports that "Hole-in-the-Day's house was burned last night, supposed to be by the Indians though soldiers and citizens had threatened it. Mr. Beaulieu and Mr. Morrison's families have come to the Fort & pitched their tents under its guns. Capt Libby's company is still stationed at Crow Wing & several citizens remain under arms. Capt Burts company is still at the agency . . . Mr. Morrill, who is acting as agent pro tem, did not venture over from Crow Wing today . . . The stage driver tells me the Indians came in force to the river bank opposite Crow Wing and one of the party cut the Ferry rope . . . Capt Libby sent 40 of his men up to the place. He has made block-houses of the Romish ch and Mr. Abbe's old store."

In his later years at Crow Wing Allan Morrison kept a diary, from March 1, 1867, to June 22, 1870. It is concerned

mostly with affairs of his farm and but few references are made to people or events outside its limits. But unusual events alone do not make history and a record of everyday life on a frontier farm is just as valuable as an account of an Indian raid. Considering the many activities in which Morrison seems to have been engaged, it is no wonder that the entries are brief; the wonder is that he found time to keep a diary at all. He speaks of cutting rails in the tamarack swamp, splitting "Leakes for the sugar Camp," building a lodge and a fence, sowing, planting, plowing, making hay, hauling loads with his oxen, sending supplies to the Indians, cutting ice and hauling it to his ice house, and acting as host for travelers. But the labor on the establishment was fairly well divided. Morrison's young son Allan and his half-breed wife did their full share of the work and Indians were hired when times were especially busy. On November 7, 1868, Morrison records: "Allan starts with his mother for the fishing at White Fish Lake"; and two weeks later he notes that "Allan has started for White Fish Lake to get his Mother from the Fishing." In the spring when the sap was running Allan took his mother, with bag and baggage, to the Indian sugar camp, where she stayed for several weeks making maple sugar and syrup. On her return in the spring of 1869 Morrison wrote: "They have had pretty good luck Made 9 Mococks They will average 130 lbs each Besides the Syrup Cake Sugar &c." In the entry for June 28, 1868, Morrison describes the murder of Hole-in-the-Day by a band of Pillager Indians. On December 6, 1869, he notes that "We are going to have a daily line from St. Pauls to this place. Begins to run this day." He records temperatures and the rise and fall of the river, and gives prices of various household necessities. In the back of the diary are copies of letters from Morrison to the commanding officer of the fort, most of them asking special favors for individual Indians.

Another interesting diary — one that gives some idea of Brainerd and Crow Wing in 1871 — is that of Frank Johnson,

a telegraph operator who arrived in Brainerd in the spring of 1871 looking for work on the Northern Pacific Railroad, which was then being built. By that time the line had been extended through Brainerd, but as yet no trains were running. According to the diary, Johnson "Put up at the Brainerd House, only a tent with wooden frame, \$10 per week in advance for board. . . . Houses all rough boards or tents, about 100 houses altogether, half of them saloons or gambling houses." Two days later he records: "There is a good bridge across the Mississippi here. The only building worthy of note is the large hotel so called because the civil engineer corps live there, they do not take boarders. It is a large wooden building fixed up in pretty good shape, two stories high." Johnson found the town full of men "waiting for situations, can get all they want and more to work for \$2 per day . . . on the grade." Toward the end of the month he notes that "Telegraph men have commenced setting poles."

Early in May Johnson got a position as telegraph operator at Crow Wing. This is his impression of the town at the end of the first day: "This is the worst place I ever got into for drinking. It is the first place the lumbermen can get any liquor after staying in the woods all winter and they all get on a spree." On May 7 he "Visited the Indian wigwams, lots of them around here, in fact there are only 20 white people here, all the rest have more or less Indian blood in them. This is an old Indian trading post."

Johnson has much to say about the heavy drinking in the place. A week after his arrival he observes that some men have not been sober since before he came. Although he has discovered that "if a man don't drink here he is not considered anybody," he has decided to "play out on it altogether." The following entry covers two weeks: "Every day the same thing over, more drinking and fighting. Indians coming in with skins and maple sugar to get whisky in return." He gives an entertaining account of a medicine dance at Gull Lake and an-

other of an Indian ball game. In the middle of May he records that millions of logs are going down the river every day.

By far the most exciting happening during Johnson's short stay in Crow Wing was a series of horse races. His account of it begins with the entry for July 19:

A little fun to-day. Mixer challenged Crow-Wing for a horse race of half a mile dash with his fancy pony, \$100 aside. His challenge was accepted, all the old working horses taken out on the prairie and tried to see which was the fastest. They picked one belonging to Albert Fairbanks and have been training him for the last eight days. I was appointed one of the judges and after chaining off half a mile . . . on the prairie the word was given to start and Mixer's fancy pony had the conceit taken out of him in about a minute. Dan Moore then challenged the C. W. horse for \$100 to run in ten days. Challenge accepted on the spot by Fairbanks.

Two days later the Crow Wing horse was challenged to race another horse, and again he won the race and a hundred dollars. On the twenty-ninth there was still another race. By this time the Crow Wing horse races were becoming so popular that people came from surrounding towns to see them. "This afternoon quite a crowd came to see the race," according to Johnson, "some from Brainerd and Little Falls and Dan Moore's mare got beat most beautifully the first two heats. The driver of the Crow Wing horse even went back and gave him another start after the word go had been given and then beat him. . . . Bully for the Crow Wing plug. . . . Great time, boys all drunk tonight." The Crow Wing horse won the next race also, on August 13. After this race Dan Moore, whose horse had been beaten twice, went to St. Paul and bought a fast horse, Hoosier Boy, to beat the Crow Wing horse on the following Saturday. But even Hoosier Boy was no match for the nameless Crow Wing Pegasus. Johnson left Crow Wing a few days later for Detroit, Minnesota, and we hear no more of the races or of the Crow Wing "plug."

MARY E. WHEELHOUSE

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT BRAINERD

"I am going again next year and I hope that the program will call for a three-day tour and convention," said one enthusiastic member of the Minnesota Historical Society after returning from the seventh state historical convention, held in Brainerd and its vicinity on June 13 and 14. When the excursion started from St. Paul on the morning of June 13 the skies were leaden and a drizzle had begun. Nevertheless a crowded chartered bus and some ten automobiles appeared at the rendezvous in Anoka and as the party made its way along the route to old Fort Ripley its size increased until it numbered not less than seventy-five people, or five times as many as made up the group that set off from St. Paul in 1922 for Duluth to attend the society's first summer meeting. The rain proved to be but a friendly laying of the dust; soon the skies were smiling; and as the tourists entered the region of central Minnesota, with its winding streams, its lakes, and its pine woods, nature was in one of its gracious moods.

At the outset of the tour the members of the party were each supplied with a series of multigraphed notes giving historical information about places along the route. Thus they learned that Osseo occupies a part of Bottineau Prairie, where Pierre Bottineau, the Kit Carson of the Northwest, located a claim in 1852; that at the entrance to Champlin the Daughters of the American Colonists have recently marked the approximate place where Father Hennepin and Antoine Auguelle launched their canoes in July, 1680, to descend the Mississippi to the falls that the famous friar named in honor of Saint Anthony of Padua; that the mouth of the Rum River was the scene in 1839 of a fierce battle between the Sioux and the Chippewa; that this automobile party of 1928 was following the same

route that the Red River cart trains of seventy years ago traversed with swarthy *bois brûlés* plodding wearily along in the dust of the prairie to the siren squeaking of their carts; that St. Cloud, an important stopping place for the cart brigades, was incorporated as a town in 1856; that the village of Rice was named for George T. Rice, a tavern keeper on the old stage road that crossed the prairie some distance west of the place; and that Little Falls, recently heralded to the world as the home of the "Lone Eagle," is situated some three or four miles above the spot where Zebulon Pike — also a hero if not an eagle — built his stockade for the winter of 1805-06 while on his notable expedition into the heart of the Minnesota country. There are two kinds of tourists: those who see only with the physical eye, and those whose knowledge of the past kindles the imagination and enlivens the physical scene with the action of history. The directors of the tour and convention were determined that this should be an excursion both into central Minnesota and into the storied past of that region.

The general committee on arrangements was headed by Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul, president of the society, and the management of the tour and convention was in the hands of Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the society's museum. Other members of the committee were Mr. L. J. Ahlstrom, Mr. Joseph Chapman, Dr. A. J. Chesley, Mr. E. C. Gale, Mr. J. H. Riheldaffer, and Mr. B. B. Sheffield, of Minneapolis; Mrs. S. F. Fullerton, Mrs. C. E. Furness, Mr. L. C. Jefferson, Mr. J. M. McConnell, Mr. Julius Schmahl, and Mr. Charles Stees, of St. Paul; Mr. W. E. Culkin, Mr. H. J. McClearn, Mr. D. E. Woodbridge, and Mr. J. L. Washburn, of Duluth; Mr. Roe Chase and Mr. Scott DeLong of Anoka; Judge L. B. Kinder and Mr. G. D. LaBar of Brainerd; Mr. R. D. Musser and Mr. C. A. Weyerhaeuser of Little Falls; Mr. A. W. Troelstrup of Cambridge; Mr. O. W. Samuelson of Carlton; Mr. A. J. Crone of Deerwood; Mr. Peter Schaefer of Ely; Mr. L. H. Pryor of Glenwood; Mr. Weaver Saterbak of Long

Prairie; Mr. J. C. Pope of Mora; Mr. F. W. Besette of Orr; Mr. E. L. McMillan of Princeton; Mrs. Fred Schilplin of St. Cloud; Mr. H. D. Ayer of Vineland; Mr. W. E. Parker of Wadena; Mr. F. A. Althaus of Wahkon; Mr. Victor Lawson of Willmar; and Professor Irving H. Hart of Cedar Falls, Iowa. The invitation to hold the convention in Brainerd and central Minnesota came from the newly organized Crow Wing County Historical Society, cordially seconded by the Brainerd chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the mayor, the chamber of commerce, and various clubs of Brainerd; and the chairman of the committee on local arrangements was Judge Kinder, who holds the position of historian in the local historical society. Other members of the local committee were Mr. T. T. Blackburn, Mrs. J. M. Elder, Mr. R. R. Gould, Mr. D. C. Gray, Mrs. J. M. Hayes, the Reverend J. M. Michaelson, Mr. Clyde Parker, Mr. E. H. Rhodes, Mr. Will Spencer, and Mr. F. W. Wieland, of Brainerd; Mr. R. A. Butts, Mr. T. G. Johnson, and Mr. F. H. Kraus, of Crosby; Mr. L. E. Clouse, Mr. S. R. Kramer, and Mr. Claude Tucker, of Fort Ripley; Mrs. M. A. Bronson of Merrifield; and Mr. Ayer of Vineland.

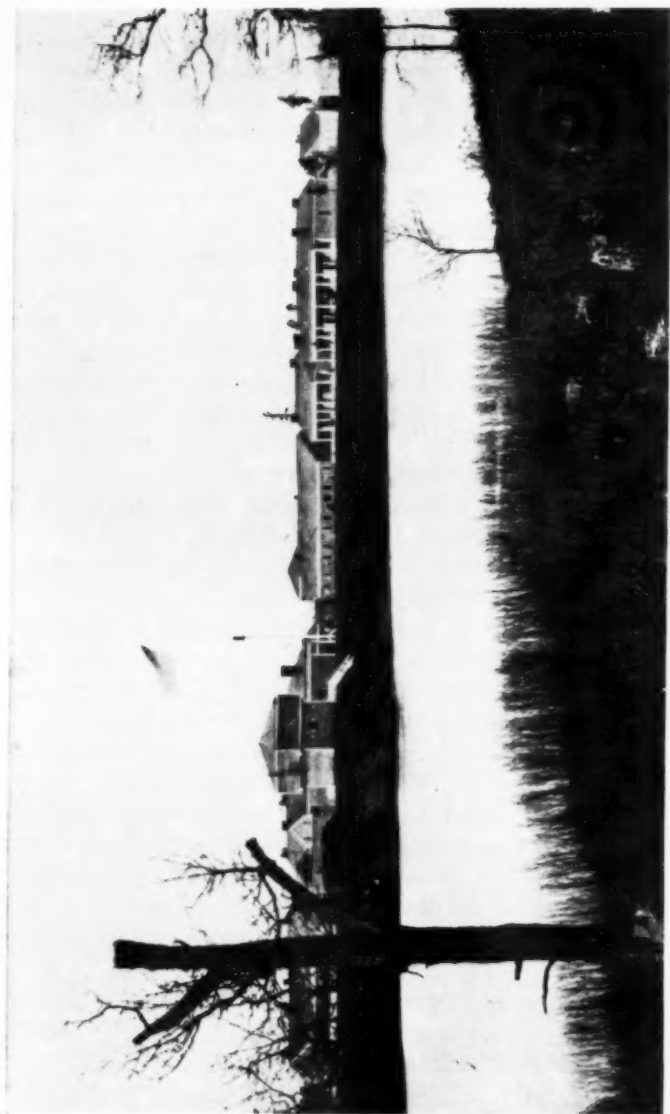
A large contingent of people from Brainerd and the village of Fort Ripley were waiting for the tourists at a natural park on the east bank of the Mississippi nearly opposite the site of old Fort Ripley. Here a complimentary picnic luncheon was provided by the members of the Crow Wing County Historical Society and was eaten to the strains of martial music furnished by the gorgeously uniformed Brainerd Ladies' Band under the direction of Miss Effie Drexler. After the luncheon some two hundred people formed a semicircle about an improvised speaker's stand and the first session of the convention was opened, with Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, presiding. A military note was sounded by the drum and bugle corps of the Brainerd boy scout troops, which contributed the first number of the program, with

special bugling by Mr. Dale Sanders. A hearty welcome was then extended to the visitors by Mr. S. R. Adair, the president of the Crow Wing County Historical Society, and Mr. J. L. Washburn of Duluth, a member of the executive council of the state society, responded.

After a number by the band, Judge Kinder delivered an address in which he told vividly and concisely "The Story of Old Fort Ripley."¹ Through the courtesy of the Crow Wing County Historical Society copies of a specially printed picture of the fort as it looked in the early sixties were distributed among the members of the audience while Judge Kinder was relating its history. The post was established in the year when gold was discovered in California. Protection for the Winnebago Indians, who had been assigned lands in Minnesota after ceding their Iowa land, and the checking of Sioux-Chippewa hostilities were among the objects that led the government to set up this fort in north central Minnesota, according to Judge Kinder. In November, 1848, General George M. Brooks of St. Louis, with staff officers and a squad of dragoons, proceeded up the Mississippi to the old trading post of Crow Wing and selected a site for a military post on the west bank of the Mississippi just below the mouth of the Nokasippi River. Captain Napoleon J. T. Dana, later colonel of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, was ordered to superintend the work. Temporary log buildings were erected to house the workmen, a sawmill was built, and logs were prepared during the winter. In all sixteen frame buildings were erected on three sides of a square whose opening faced the Mississippi, with two angles guarded by log blockhouses. On May 13, 1849, Company A of the Sixth United States Infantry arrived from Fort Snelling under Captain J. B. S. Todd to form the garrison.

The fort was compelled to depend upon a ferry for its connection with the military road from Fort Snelling to Crow Wing, the speaker said; occasionally floating ice would carry

¹ This address is published in full in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for June 13, 1928.



FORT RIPLEY IN 1862

[From a photograph in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]

the ferry down stream and on one occasion it upset in mid-stream and one soldier was drowned. The first eight years of Fort Ripley were peaceful ones; a faithful record of its routine and casual happenings is to be found in the manuscript diary of the chaplain, the Reverend Solon W. Manney, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, which Judge Kinder had used. Upon the withdrawal of the garrison in June, 1857, the Chippewa became unruly and a number of depredations occurred. Three Indians murdered a German peddler and shortly afterward the guilty men were lynched by a party of whites. Late in August reports of trouble to be expected from Chief Hole-in-the-Day caused hurried calls for troops to be sent to Fort Snelling and their arrival at Fort Ripley checked the excitement.

When the government decided to build Fort Abercrombie a part of the small garrison of Fort Ripley was ordered to the Red River Valley to put up the new post, the speaker said. Constant changes in the personnel occurred, especially after the Civil War opened. In fact, in its twenty-six years of activity Fort Ripley had not less than sixty different commanders. Judge Kinder gave a brief account of the situation at the fort during the Sioux War. When news of the outbreak reached it the garrison of thirty men hurriedly molded bullets during all of one night and prepared vigorously to resist attack. For a time the attitude of Hole-in-the-Day seemed to threaten an uprising on the part of the Chippewa, but an order to cut off the supplies of the Indians brought an end to the disturbance and matters quieted down. After the Civil War there was little need for the post; one after another its buildings were destroyed by fire; in July, 1878, it was abandoned, and two years later the site was sold. The fifty-two bodies in the post cemetery were removed to the national cemetery at Rock Island.

"That the annals of Fort Ripley are not more bloody," said Judge Kinder in conclusion, "evidences the efficacy with which it protected this section of the state. The swords of its soldiers

have long ago been sheathed or beaten into plowshares. The windows and boards of its buildings have been turned into claim cabins; the stones of its foundations used in a bridge across the Mississippi. Like the pioneers it knew, it is gone. But its memory is still cherished. The Crow Wing County Historical Society hopes some day to acquire its site for a Fort Ripley Memorial Park."

Not all the soldier pioneers that knew the daily routine of old Fort Ripley are gone, however. Among the people who listened to Judge Kinder's interesting address was an old soldier, L. E. Day of Clinton Falls, who was on duty at Fort Ripley in the winter of 1861-62. In the nearly seventy years since, Mr. Day had never revisited this scene of his early soldiering. Now, hale and hearty at the age of ninety-one, he had returned, accompanied by his son, Dr. G. R. Day of Farmington. Alert and clear of memory, Mr. Day, when introduced to the audience, gave an interesting brief account of his experiences as a bugler at this frontier post on the upper Mississippi. Yet another Fort Ripley soldier was in the audience, Mr. Homer Moore, who was born in New York in 1838 and came to Minnesota in 1864. In that year the company in which he was enrolled was ordered from Fort Snelling to Fort Ripley, but as he was unable to make the trip with the company owing to illness he later rode alone to the fort on horseback. When introduced to the audience Mr. Moore gave an excellent short speech telling about this ride and his connection with the fort.

The last number on the program of the session was a paper on "The Virginia, the Clermont of the Upper Mississippi," given by Mr. William J. Petersen, a graduate student at the University of Iowa. Mr. Petersen is making an extended study of the history of steamboat navigation on the upper waters of the Mississippi and his account of the pioneer boat that steamed up the river from St. Louis to Fort Snelling in the spring of 1823 forms a part of this larger study. His paper will be published in full in an early number of this magazine.

After this meeting a visit was made to the site of the post, on the west side of the river. Of the many buildings of the original fort all have been levelled by time and circumstance save one, an old powder magazine of hewn stone and brick, the battered walls of which are still standing. Near by on the fort grounds are depressions marking the sites of other buildings, and in some cases even these cavities are half hidden by the waving grasses — as one tourist learned with some discomfiture when he drove his car into a military cellar of the fifties. Before the party left Fort Ripley a flag that had been specially hoisted for the occasion was lowered to the bugler's taps. A quick run, and the expedition reached Brainerd, passing on its way the village of Barrows, which only a few years ago was a thriving iron-mining town but is today almost uninhabited, its desolate houses and forlorn streets reminding one of some of the abandoned mushroom towns on the early mining frontiers of the West.

Brainerd, the convention city, is connected both in name and in origins with the history of western railroad building, for it was founded in 1870 as a result of the decision of the Northern Pacific Railroad to run its line across the Mississippi at this point and it was named in honor of Mrs. Ann Eliza Brainerd Smith, the wife of the first president of that road. Blessed by the favor of the railroad, the town quickly surpassed the old trading post of Crow Wing in importance. A substantial city today, it is the headquarters of an historical society that is attempting to preserve the records of the county of which Brainerd is the seat and center. When the tourists arrived the city was in gala attire, host not only to the Minnesota Historical Society but also to the League of Minnesota Municipalities, and these two organizations came together at the Brainerd Opera House in the evening for a joint session, with an attendance of about a hundred and fifty people. With Mr. Babcock presiding, Dr. William Anderson, professor of political science in the University of Minnesota and director of that institution's bureau for research in government, de-

livered a suggestive address on "Local Government and Local History." He called upon historians to pay more attention to the history of local government and local administration and urged municipal officials not only to make more use of the recorded experience of local communities but also to give more careful attention to the preservation of local records. The address is brought before a wider audience through its publication in full in this number of MINNESOTA HISTORY. After its delivery the convention guests were invited to attend a band concert and dance at Lum Park, arranged by the citizens of Brainerd for the entertainment of the visitors. Not a few found time also to examine a series of special historical exhibits that had been assembled under the direction of Mrs. Bronson, vice president of the local historical society, for display in store windows.

The next morning, June 14, soon after half past eight, the second stage of the tour and convention opened when a long line of comfortably filled cars swung out on the highway bound for Mille Lacs, on the shores of which in the seventeenth century stood that Sioux village to which in 1679 Du Luth brought news of the dominion of his imperial master, Louis XIV of France, and to which, the next year, Hennepin and his companions came as captured emissaries of La Salle. The objective of the tourists was the Mille Lacs Indian Trading Post at Vineland, which was reached about 10:00 A.M. About three hundred people made up the throng that gathered there to view the Chippewa wigwams, to examine the remarkable collection of Indian objects in the museum room of the trading house, to see the Chippewa braves and squaws walking about in their full regalia, and to attend the program held in the open with the blue waters of Mille Lacs forming the background of the speakers and dancers. The session was called to order by Mr. Adair and the first speaker was Mr. Irving H. Hart, director of the extension department of the Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls, who told "The Story of

Beengwa, Daughter of a Chippewa Warrior," based upon an interview that he had had with an old Indian woman of the Sandy Lake band. After Mr. Hart's paper, which will appear in an early number of MINNESOTA HISTORY, Mr. William E. Culkin of Duluth, president of the St. Louis County Historical Society, gave an address on "Daniel Greysolon, sieur Du Luth and His Times." Mr. Culkin is the author of an extended study of Du Luth and explained that in the time at his disposal he would present only some of the more important aspects of his subject. He pictured the great French-Canadian explorer as one whose love of wilderness travel and adventure kept him year after year a *coureur de bois*. In person he was "dignified and reserved but not cold and taciturn." He was some thirty years of age when he made his notable journey into the wilds of the region west of Lake Superior. The speaker asserted that Du Luth on this expedition probably followed the St. Louis and Savanna rivers, crossed Sandy Lake to the Mississippi, and thence made his way to the Sioux village of Izatys, later known as Kathio, on the southwestern shore of Mille Lacs. Here on July 2, 1679, with solemn ceremony he planted the arms of the king of France while the Sioux welcomed him as an emissary who would annually bring them ornaments, clothing, and firearms in return for furs. In 1680 Du Luth made his famous trip to the Mississippi by way of the Bois Brule and the St. Croix. How he rescued Hennepin, accompanied the Mille Lacs Sioux back to their village, and then upbraided them in council for their treatment of the friar, Mr. Culkin recounted. After sketching the later career of the wood ranger the speaker declared that he was unexcelled as a business organizer, a frontier diplomat, and an officer.

After Mr. Culkin's address the chairman called upon three public health nurses, Miss Josephine Parisien of Red Lake, Miss Elizabeth Sherer of Cass Lake, and Miss Adelia Eggestine of Mahanomen on the White Earth Indian Reservation for brief talks upon the problem of health among the Indians.

They described the situation and the various methods that are being followed in the work. Miss Parisien and Miss Sherer both can boast Chippewa blood, a factor that doubtless contributes to the success of their efforts among the people they are serving. After these talks Mr. H. D. Ayer, who is in charge of the trading post at Vineland, gave a brief account of the Chippewa who reside in its vicinity and introduced to the audience two old Indians, Wadena and Tom Skinaway. They proved to be natural orators as they told in Chippewa of the possessions that their people had once had in the Mille Lacs country and contrasted the former situation with that of the present. In the absence of the government interpreter Mr. Ayer summarized their remarks in English. A series of Indian dances and songs followed, with many of the Indians who were present participating, and finally some of the Chippewa men and boys entered upon a game of moccasin for the benefit of the interested spectators. After the conclusion of the program a pike dinner was served in the trading house.

The next session of the convention was held at Crosby, an iron-mining town on the Cuyuna Range, which was reached at 3:30 P.M. after a run of an hour and a half from Vineland. The visitors were reminded of the fact that it was Flag Day when they entered the flag-lined streets of Crosby and made their way to the city armory. Here an audience of about a hundred and twenty-five persons assembled for an historical program. Commander W. G. McDonough of the local post of the American Legion extended a welcome to the visitors on behalf of the mayor, and Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the state society, who presided at the session, expressed the pleasure of the visitors in the cordial reception given them by Crosby and called attention to the purposes of the society's annual tours and conventions. He then introduced Miss Mary E. Wheelhouse, editorial assistant on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, who read a paper entitled "The History of Central Minnesota: A Survey of Unpublished Sources." For

some years it has been a custom to have a paper of this general type presented at each state historical convention in order to draw attention to unexplored sources of information on the history of the various regions comprising the state and to arouse interest in the preservation of manuscripts of historical value. Miss Wheelhouse's paper is published in this number of MINNESOTA HISTORY.

The second speaker of the session, the Honorable E. P. Scallon of Crosby, gave an account of "Iron Mining on the Cuyuna Range." He first told of the work of Cuyler Adams, who in the early nineteen-hundreds bought large tracts of land in the vicinity for agriculture and lumbering. Adams noted a sharp magnetic deviation and set about mapping the magnetic lines and later started drilling at one point. He found iron ore 170 feet beneath the surface. In 1906 he devoted his attention to the north range, including the Crosby, Iron-ton, and Deer-wood region, and in 1905-06 operations in the Kennedy mine were started. Another active worker on the north range was George H. Crosby, for whom the town of Crosby is named. The speaker described the various methods of mining that have been employed on the range, particularly the open-pit system. In all, he said, forty-five different mines have been worked on the Cuyuna range, nine of which are now in operation. He stated that twenty-five million tons of ore have been sent out since the first shipment in 1911. He spoke also of the importance of the manganese in the ore, explaining that during the war more than ninety per cent of the country's manganese came from the Cuyuna Range. The latter part of Mr. Scallon's address was devoted mainly to the prospects of iron mining in this region and to a criticism of the present policy of taxation of the industry. After this speech the attorney-general of the state, the Honorable G. A. Youngquist, who is *ex officio* a member of the society's executive council, was called upon and responded with an expression of cordial interest in the work of the society.

At the conclusion of the session the committee on resolutions, consisting of Mr. Charles Stees of St. Paul, Mrs. Fred W. Reed of Minneapolis, and Dr. G. R. Day of Farmington, presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The members of the Crow Wing County Historical Society; the Brainerd Chamber of Commerce; the ladies of Brainerd; the *Brainerd Dispatch*; the Brainerd Ladies' Band; the Brainerd Boy Scout drum corps, the members of the various boy scout troops, and Bugler Dale Sanders; Judge Louis B. Kinder, Mr. S. R. Adair, and the members of the committee on local arrangements of Brainerd, Fort Ripley, and Crosby, Mrs. M. A. Bronson of Merrifield, Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Ayer of Vineland, Mr. Theodore G. Johnson and Mr. R. A. Butts of Crosby; the committee on general arrangements and Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, the manager of the tour and convention; and all those on the program have done much to make the seventh annual State Historical Convention a great success; and

WHEREAS, The picnic tendered at Fort Ripley, the housing arrangements and hospitality extended by the citizens of Brainerd, the concert at Lum Park, the Indian program at Vineland, the hospitality of the people of Crosby, and the delightful drive provided by the people of Brainerd through one of the most beautiful of the Minnesota lake regions over wonderful roads have been greatly enjoyed by those attending the convention;

BE IT RESOLVED by the Minnesota Historical Society, its members and friends here assembled, that we hereby express our most hearty appreciation and thanks for all the many courtesies extended to us during the period of the convention.

After the Crosby session the visitors were given an opportunity to view some of the near-by open-pit iron mines in full operation. They then departed for Breezy Point Lodge at Pelican Lake, making en route a short detour through Ojibwa Park upon the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. John L. Smith of Minneapolis to see a venerable tree under which a Chippewa council was once held. The tour and convention came to a close at Breezy Point Lodge, where the tourists joined the League of Minnesota Municipalities in a banquet and listened to an address by Bishop G. G. Bennett of Duluth. The bishop stressed the importance and value of religion and the good

life and of coöperation among citizens in forwarding the application of high ideals to the administration of government.

Thus ended the seventh in the society's series of state historical conventions. One aspect of this kind of exploitation of local and state historical interest is the great amount of publicity accorded it in the press. It is noteworthy that in several newspapers the enterprise occasioned editorial comment, and this account may fittingly close with a quotation from an editorial written by Mrs. Bess M. Wilson and published in the *Redwood Gazette* of Redwood Falls for June 20:

To the people of the state the two-day trip of Society members should have much significance. Its value lies in an aroused interest in matters historical, in the retelling of tradition and lore and story and historical fact by those who went to those who stayed at home. Every member in the party was interested; this interest is bound to spread from person to person and to bring results in an increased number of interested ones.

But the chief value of such a tour lies in the fact that it awakens people to the importance of preserving manuscripts, letters and historical relics. It should be an incentive to them to put into manuscript form the "tales the old men tell" and to make permanent the wealth of tradition and legend while the makers of history are still here. It should also arouse in them a sense of the value of documents and manuscripts which may deal with this historical past, even though to the lay mind these writings may possess little but a personal value.

The Minnesota Historical society is a state organization worthy the moral, the financial, and the "unpublished manuscript" support of all the state's citizens.

T. C. B.

MINNESOTA AS SEEN BY TRAVELERS

AN ENGLISH VISITOR OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

In the June number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY* an account of a journey to Minnesota in 1858 by Sir James Caird, an English student of prairie farming, was reprinted. Herewith is presented the first installment of the record of another English traveler, who visited the upper Mississippi Valley during the Civil War, when river steamers were crowded with soldiers and recruits were drilling at Fort Snelling. This traveler was George T. Borrett and his visit to Minnesota formed a part of a three-months' "grand tour" of Canada and the northern United States during the troubled months of the late summer and early autumn of 1864.

The letters that Borrett wrote to his father during his journey were "printed for private circulation" in London in 1865. The author, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, was an intelligent observer, and his letters are of special interest for the picture they convey of war-time America. They have a wide geographical sweep, for the tour, starting from Liverpool, took Borrett to Montreal, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, into the upper Mississippi country, back to the St. Lawrence, and then to Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, and New York. It is interesting to note that Borrett, a stalwart Englishman with most of the traditional British prejudices in regard to American customs, was a thorough sympathizer with the North in its clash with the South, and this sympathy colors many of his comments on American social customs, politics, industrial life, and military activities.

The two central objects of Borrett's trip, he confesses, were to see Niagara Falls and Abraham Lincoln, and in both he was successful. His description of the accomplishment of his sec-

ond purpose is vivid. With some companions he had been ushered into a drawing room in a country house near Washington to which Lincoln occasionally escaped from the White House. "We had sat there but a few minutes, when there entered through the folding doors the long, lanky, lath-like figure that we had seen descending from the one-horse-shay, with hair ruffled, and eyes very sleepy, and — hear it, ye votaries of court etiquette! — feet enveloped in carpet slippers." He adds that his uneasiness and awe "vanished in a moment before the homely greeting of the President, and the genial smile which accompanied it."

Though not a main purpose of the trip, Borrett's excursion into the country of the upper Mississippi resulted in two letters of unusual interest, both written with much spirit and embodying the results of shrewd observation. One of these, written at Boston on September 28, 1864, gives an account of a journey by steamboat up the Mississippi from La Crosse to St. Paul in a season of extremely low water. The second, written at Washington on October 10, recounts his visit to St. Paul and Minneapolis and to places of special interest in their vicinity. It may be added that while Borrett was in St. Paul he wrote, on September 10, a long letter describing an earlier portion of his travels. The installment herewith reprinted is the account of the Mississippi River trip. The letter describing the Twin Cities will appear in a later number of MINNESOTA HISTORY.

B. L. H.

[George Tuthill Borrett, *Letters from Canada and the United States*, 132-151 (London, 1865)].

Boston, September 28th [1864].

It was one o'clock in the morning before our 250 miles of railway were accomplished, and La Crosse, our point of contact with the Mississippi, reached. It was then too dark to see anything of the great river whose waters we had come so far to look at, and the train was so full of passengers, that we had to make the best of

our time in attempting to get places on the boat. The cars ran, of course, up to the water's edge, and by the wharf lay the steamer ready to receive the train's cargo. To our great disappointment the boat was not one of those far-famed denizens of the Mississippi, whose huge proportions and propensities to blowing up, are equally notorious in the annals of Western America; but a very poor specimen of the shipwright's architecture, of extremely modest dimensions, and most uncomfortable passenger accommodation; and for this unlooked for usurper of the domains of the great river, we had to thank the "Father of Waters" himself, who had been so reduced by the long drought which had prevailed throughout the summer, that none but the most insignificant craft could pass his scanty shallows. The rush for the few berths that were to be had was thoroughly characteristic of the people. It was entirely confined to the "ladies" — a generic term which includes all the sex, from the President's wife to the meanest white "help" — and whilst they fought and clamoured amongst themselves for the coveted luxury of a dirty berth, the humbler representatives of the weaker sex — the American idea of my own — waited with exemplary patience outside, for the chance of what at school we used to call the "scrapings." But the chance was infinitesimally small; there were not half berths enough for "the ladies," the steward told us, so I resigned myself to fate and ingenuity to find a place for the night's rest, and spent the few minutes we had before leaving the pier in admiring the figures of two gigantic Indian warriors who came on board the boat for whiskey and cigars.

They were noble specimens of humanity; six feet three or four in height as they stood in their woollen socks, which served them for shoes. A coarse blanket thrown carelessly over the shoulders, and a band round the head with a few feathers in it, seemed to be the only other article of dress with which they encumbered their toilet. There was no diffidence or shyness about their manner, as they moved in and out amongst the passengers; they carried themselves erect as worthy representatives of the proudest of tribes, the great Sioux — a tribe that has cost the American government more trouble, money, and lives, than any other; the very

tribe in fact which has this summer broken out again in the northern Mississippi, and to repress which our boat was carrying up soldiers detached from the army of Sherman.¹ No doubt it was to spy out the number and destination of these troops that the visit of the wily pair was made, but their cool cunning and intrepidity had secured them an easy admission to the steamboat as friendly Sioux of the opposition party that disapproved of the late massacres perpetrated by their fellowkinsmen in the North. I watched with interest their quiet cat-like movements through the crowd, and, as I looked at their features, I was immensely struck with the theory I had heard of their affinity to the Mongol or Tartar race — the same broad flat countenance and high square cheek bones, the same tendency to obliqueness in the eye's position and form, the same long straight black hair, the same copperish-yellow colour of skin, that I believe to be the characteristic features of those mysterious people.

As the whistle sounded, they moved sullenly off to communicate, I suppose, the intelligence of what they had learnt to their brethren in arms, and having watched them off the boat, I seized one of the mattresses that were being thrown promiscuously upon the cabin floor, and there, in the midst of a Babel of snorers similarly situated with myself, I contrived to get as much sleep, as the incessant trampling of the restless spirits who could not find a place to lay their heads, and the noisy political discussion of those who sat up to make a night of it, would admit of my taking. But I was not let alone long. Before five o'clock the black stewards hoisted the ends of the mattresses and tipped out their occupants on to the floor, and there I might have lain if I had liked, as some

¹ Borrett seems to have been somewhat confused with reference to the Sioux Outbreak, which was confined to the summer of 1862. Campaigns against the Sioux, who had fled into Dakota and Montana, continued, however, until 1865. During the summer of 1864 the Sully expedition carried this frontier war forward, but since this party of troops began the return march from the Missouri on September 9, the soldiers with whom Borrett traveled upstream could not have joined Sully. It is possible that they were stationed at Fort Snelling or some other Minnesota fort during the winter of 1864-65. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 2: 299, 300 (St. Paul, 1924).

few did with imperturbable "*nonchalance*," surrounded by niggers sweeping all over them, and tumbling against their limbs, and setting tables across their stomachs, and chairs and benches upon their legs, only that I preferred to rise and look at the Mississippi; and, having performed the most cursory of all superficial ablutions, with a teaspoonful of water and a square inch or two of unused towel, I rushed upon the deck, and saw something after this fashion:

A broad expanse of extremely shallow water; a number of oddly-shaped marshy-looking islands; a tortuous channel in and out amongst them, very difficult of navigation, and intersected by frequent sandbanks, on the top of which the keel of our boat grated at every other bend in the stream, with a dull sound that brought home to the passengers the uncomfortable apprehension of the possibility of sticking fast on one of these banks and seeing much more of the Mississippi than we had bargained for; a low vegetation on most of these islands, very much like that which may be seen on any of the alluvial deposits on the Thames; a range of steep bluffs on either bank rising abruptly from the water's edge, sparsely wooded and bare alternately, but bold in outline and precipitous. Such was my first impression of the Mississippi scenery, and such it is now, for there was little or no variety, save where the line of the high bluffs was occasionally broken by a deep wild-looking ravine, in the shelter of which lay now and then a few farmers' cottages, and sometimes, but at long intervals, a village or a town.

There was an impressive sense of solitude forced upon me by the aspect of everything around; a feeling of loneliness not even dispelled by the appearance of the small towns at which we called on our passage; for, shut in, as they were, by the narrow gorges in which they lay, and debarred from communication with the outer world except by the shallow waters through which we were feeling our way, they seemed to me so many hermits' settlements; each one, as it lay in the distance, promising to be the most advanced outpost of these lonely pioneers of civilisation, till another and another successively came in view, to testify to the fact that neither the solitudes of the prairie, nor the darkness of the forest, can

stem the advance of human enterprise. Beyond these few detached settlers' colonies, there was nothing to be seen indicative of the busy life that must, no doubt, ere long, in the progress of development of the great North-West, culminate towards the waters we were traversing. Besides our own boat, none did we see, but her sister craft on the downward passage, laden with recruits from the North for Sherman's army.² A few rude looking "lumberers," at the various wood stations at which we called for fuel, a few cows near the settlements, and a good sprinkling of herons and kingfishers, the latter of a brilliant blue, were the only varieties in the long panorama of shallow water, marshy islands, sandy banks and distant bluffs; and glad as I was to feel that I was actually upon the great Father of Waters, I must confess that my visit to his Majesty's presence disappointed me. I ought, however, in candour to add, that his unimposing aspect was in great measure due to the unprecedented drought; and that, had he been rolling down his accustomed body of water, and carrying his visitors comfortably housed in the floating palaces which at ordinary times ride with ease upon his surface, I should have come away with a far better opinion of his right to his accredited position as the Father of Waters; as it was, he appeared to me very much in the light of an impostor, and, as one of my fellow-travelers observed, I think it extremely doubtful whether, in his then state of aqueous insolvency, proud little Father Thames himself would have owned him even for a poor relation.

Well, as there was really so little to see outside the boat, or, at least, so little which it would interest you to hear of, I will turn your attention to that from which I myself derived more amusement — the boat itself and the passengers. In the first place, as to the boat. It was the queerest machine by which I had ever travelled. It had neither paddles nor screw, but an enormous water-wheel of the rudest construction, at the stern, worked by the most primitive of engines, which occupied the after part of the lower deck. Engine, furnace, fuel, and all, entirely above the

² The recruits probably were a detachment of 105 men who were to join the Army of the Cumberland at Atlanta and twenty-four colored recruits bound for St. Louis, all of whom left St. Paul on the "Ariel" on September 6, according to the *Saint Paul Pioneer* of September 7, 1864.

water's level; for the boat drew but a few inches of water. The upper deck consisted of a sort of apology for a saloon, with a few boxes on either side, that answered the purpose of ladies' berths; and in a sort of balcony that ran around the outside of this deck, and on the roof of it, the passengers aired themselves upon a limited number of kitchen chairs and three-legged stools that formed the only furniture of the vessel. After staring for some time at the lazy movements of the great wheel, and deciding that the whole concern looked exactly like a locomotive water-mill, without the slightest pretensions about it of conformity to the ordinary lines upon which I had hitherto supposed it necessary to construct a boat, I studied the passengers.

The majority of them were soldiers, as I have already mentioned, on their way northwards to quell the outbreak amongst the Indians. Of the general appearance of the Northern army as yet I know but little. I shall have more opportunity of speaking on that point when I get to Washington and New York. Suffice it to say now, for the benefit of those who read nothing but the 'Times' and are content with what they there read, however great the internal evidence of its untruth, that they were not English, nor Irish, nor Germans, nor French, nor any but genuine Americans; farmers mostly, and farmers' sons, well informed on every point of common interest to the public at large, quiet and orderly to a degree which surprised me and my fellow-travellers from England.³ We mixed and talked with them with much pleasure, and gleaned from them what we could of their ideas about the prospects of the war. They spoke of the Southern enemy with no animosity beyond what they vented upon the large slave-holders, to whose machinations they attributed the co-operation of the

³ After recommending emigration to the Middle West for the "poorer of our agricultural people" in England, Borrett, in another portion of his narrative, makes the following statement: "I have not the least doubt that all who chance to read these lines will accuse me of base intrigues . . . for entrapping my fellow countrymen into the ranks of the Federal army. But my conscience is clear on that point, and besides, I do not believe, as I shall tell you at greater length some day, that a hundredth part of the statements of the 'Times' upon the last four years of American history, will bear investigation by an unprejudiced inquirer after truth." *Letters from Canada and the United States*, 130.

poorer classes. What few expressions of ill-feeling they used were poured forth against the Southern women, whom some of them, who had come from New Orleans, declared to be perfect she-devils incarnate; and if but a few features in their portrait of a Southern woman be correct, I must admit that General Butler's task in that devoted city was no easy one; and, indeed, I should feel much inclined to be ungallant enough to go further, and say that the extreme measures to which he resorted during his "Reign of Terror" were not wholly unjustified.⁴ At any rate it is admitted by all that much improvement in the domestic and sanitary arrangements of the city has resulted from his unwelcome dictatorship; and that what was formerly a sink of pestilence and iniquity is now a decent and well organized community. We talked of Grant and McClellan, and found that the latter had completely lost the ephemeral popularity that America vouchsafes to her short-lived favorites. "The young Napoleon," but a few months back the idol of the army, was now rarely spoken of without a sneer. Grant, whose highest quality in their eyes seemed to be his condescension in sleeping upon a private's blanket, was now the darling of the day. Should his long-looked-for plunge into Richmond be much further delayed, *his* name will be consigned without scruple or ceremony to the rack of obloquy and anathemas upon which the North has annihilated so many of her transient heroes. Sherman and Sheridan are also in the ascendant. The reign of each promises to be a brilliant one; the marvel of its brilliancy, perhaps, like the meteor's, only to be equalled by that of its rapid evanescence. Of all the generals that this war has called into being, whether on the side of North or South, Robert Lee is the only one who has retained the place to which the chances of battle have raised him. But his military genius is undoubtedly superior to that of his enemies or his rivals in arms. None, perhaps, are more ready to admit his talent than the soldiers of the Northern army — the admission, perhaps, you may say, is but politic, as adding to the credit due to his defeat, whenever that may be effected — but, at any rate, the Northern soldiers are can-

⁴ General B. F. Butler occupied New Orleans with Union troops on May 1, 1862, and his iron rule of the city continued for six months.

did enough to confess, what their journalists with asinine obstinacy deny, that they have not a general who can hold candle to him.

But there were plenty of other passengers besides the soldiers, all affable and communicative; and from them we gathered, in the course of conversation, an indefinite number of diametrically opposite views of the coming political contest. We had Republicans, Democrats, Copper-heads, and Abolitionists on board, and each representative of every one of these parties held different ideas about everything from those which his fellow-representatives entertained. The subject of greatest difference was the war itself in its political aspect. Politics, of course, every one in America talks. It comes more naturally to them than their A B C. They seem to suck it in with their mother's milk, for the women are "bluer" in politics than the men; they lisp it in the nursery, babble it in the school-room, fight about it in the academy, and drink over it in the bars, till the whole nation becomes saturated with the virus of what I may call "politicomanie," a disease which injects its poisonous infusions into every member of the state with such fatal effect, that the free working of the whole body is incalculably cramped and crippled by it. No department is free from its influence. Courts of Justice are victims to its sway. Judges and juries cannot resist the party feeling which its constant presence everywhere engenders. Stump oratory and platform declamation feed it. Paltry pulpiteers propagate it, and hot-headed journalists subsist upon it. You hear it in every walk of life, read it in every printed page of paper. In the cars, on the boats, in the streets, at the hotels, in the churches, nothing but politics. Soldiers, sailors, tinkers, tailors, parsons, ploughboys, porters, waiters, know no subject of conversation but the eternal politics. You think, in your innocence, to avoid it in the drawing-room, but you find the ladies as keen upon it as the men. Elderly ladies of the Republican persuasion lecture you upon the crimes of the Democratic leaders. Youthful beauties, that would do honour to an English ball room, question you upon the doctrine of State rights. Middle-aged females bore you to death with puzzling interrogations about your own Constitution. And if in disgust you retire to your bedroom, and happen to ring for the chambermaid, she asks you whether

you think the Democrats will withdraw the fourth plank of their platform, and if they do what will be the consequence.

Well, then, you will not wonder that the chief subject of conversation was politics, nor, perhaps, will you be surprised to hear that, by the time our passage up the Mississippi came to an end, I had had a great deal more of politics than was good for either me or my temper. We discussed them with the captain (a very seedy gentleman, by the bye), with the steward (a seedier one), with the engineers, the soldiers, the gentlemen passengers, and the lady passengers; and such a muddle-headed maze of mystification did my brain get lost in, after three days' incessant struggling to deduce some consistent result from the thousand-and-one ideas with which it was assailed, that I shall, out of charitable feelings for yours, abstain from inflicting upon you what, I feel sure, will do you no good. I will only add that the chief cause of my mystification was a smart, affable young lady, who laid down her theories of the science in such an authoritative style of diction, that I was at first completely awed into the mildest submission to her precepts. But her father, in compassion, I presume, for the evident weakness of my defensive armour, rebuked her with an admonition to hit somebody of her own size, and she spared me accordingly. I saw a good deal of this party during our passage. They were extremely agreeable people. The father had just come from Chicago, whither he had been sent as a delegate to the great Democratic Convention.⁵ He lived in the State of New York, where I have no doubt he was a man of some influence amongst the extreme Democrats, for he was a copperhead, every inch of him, and, accordingly, all his talents, time, and toil were devoted exclusively to thwarting the Government in the conduct of the war, and promoting the interests of the enemy. He spoke despondingly of his country as the worst-governed on the face of the inhabited globe, heaped upon Old Abe such a mountain of abuse as only an American would condescend to pitch upon him, snarled at the ministers, jeered at the generals, and ridiculed the troops. It was all done too in a gentlemanly way, for he was

⁵ The Democratic national convention of 1864 nominated General George B. McClellan as its presidential candidate on August 31.

a man of good education and refined manner; but I must say I have no sympathy with those whose patriotism, like Mr. Bright's, requires a Ross's telescope to be seen at all — a very "milk and watery way" — consisting solely in a love of their country's protection without a thought for the protection of their country. In fact I have a great contempt for copperheads in general; they are simply Confederates who have not the pluck to avow it.

The affable young lady and her papa and mamma and brother engaged me in conversation till late in the evening, when it struck me that the scenery through which we were passing was worth observance — and I looked out and found it to be so. We had passed, in the afternoon, through a vast sheet of water, five miles wide and many long, where the river expands into a lake or broad, which bears the name of Lake Pepin; thence past Wanona's Rock, the crag whence the Indian maiden flung herself in despair at the persecutions wreaked on her by her tribe for her wilful love of the paleface;* past the Chimney Mountain, a romantic formation on the left bank; and Redwing, a prettily situated town, which the parting rays of the sinking sun lit up, as we stopped there for the mails, with such an array of red and gold as neither pen nor pencil could depict. The river's breadth was much less here, and under the tumbled forms of the rocky bluffs, which girt the water's edge, we lay for a time to take in fuel, and glad enough to rest there, for the scene was exquisite. Then on again to the West, into the golden glow that streamed down to us over the flood, and as we went the gold and the blue above us faded into a soft hazy green, and darkness set in at once without a twilight.

It was eleven at night when I was roused from my reveries by the announcement that we had met the other steamer into which we were to be transferred, a boat of lighter draught than that on which we then were, and better adapted for navigating the shallows which, of course, became more numerous as we ascended the river. The two boats came to an anchor in the middle of the stream, and a flat-bottomed barge with a plank thrown across to it from each boat served to establish a communication between them.

* This is an incorrect version of the well-known Indian legend of Winona. See Stephen H. Long, "Voyage in a Six-oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1817," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 24-26.

In a minute an illumination was extemporised on board each of the boats by means of a lighted brazier, filled with tar and such like combustibles, and beneath the lurid glare shed by the blazing matter ensued such a scene of noise and bustle as I never shall forget. What a subject for a picture that would have been! The bustling and confusion amongst the two sets of passengers changing from boat to boat, the awkward meetings on the narrow planks, the flights of the boxes and carpet-bags pell-mell into the bottom of the barge, the hurry and scurry amongst the black stewards, the falling embers from the burning braziers, the life and light in the centre of the stream, the blackness and solitude all around. With all the confusion, however, the change of cargoes was an affair of but a few minutes; but the scene was so strange, so novel, the fiery redness of the braziers, and the objects illuminated by them so unearthly, that I see it all as vividly now as if it were still before me, and often, I dare say, shall I call up in my dreams this midnight boat-changing on the Mississippi.

The new vessel, a minature of the other, was much more stuffy, close, and uncomfortable. Berths of course were out of the question. Sleeping room on the floors was at a premium; and mattresses unobtainable, for love or money. But fraud got me a quarter of one, and on my allotted portion of it I somehow or other contrived to doze in the midst of a perfect maze of arms, and legs, and heads, and feet, interspersed with hats, coats, collars, ties, and boots; the oddest medley that I ever saw upon the floor of any room; and, judging from her convulsive laughter at my appearance or rather dis-appearance in the midst of it, so too thought the affable young lady. I was very tired, however, and did not heed her playful sallies, but my slumbers were not healthy or refreshing by any means, and when the black steward at 4.30 a. m. tipped up the mattresses to clear and sweep the room, I was quite content to get away from the atmosphere, and the fleas.

You may wonder possibly how they managed to cook us any meals, seeing that their space was so limited. I know I did, and so I do now. I can offer no explanation. I am sure there was no kitchen, and I know there was no fire. I never saw any cook on board, nor anything cooking. But you may stake your fortune, that where there are any Americans, there will always be plenty

to eat (and generally I should say the converse holds good, and that where there is plenty to eat there will always be Americans), and therefore I felt perfectly confident that our appetites would be well cared for, and so they were. We had hot meats on the table for breakfast, dinner, tea, and supper; but I am to this day as ignorant as the astonished parent in *Beauty and the Beast* how or whence they got there.

The next day was much like the preceding; ditto the scenery—only that the river banks drew nearer together, which I thought added considerably to the beauty of the stream. The only variation in the day's proceedings was some remarkably bad rifle practice by the soldiers at the numerous herons upon the sand banks, and a still more indifferent practice at larger objects in the shape of cows in the adjacent meadows. Nothing astonishes me more than the reckless use of firearms in this country. Men and boys play with "six-shooters" as if they were as harmless as children's pop-guns. The beautiful science of the P. R. ("Prize Ring" fair reader) is utterly scouted in the States for the more effective satisfaction administered by the revolver. The natural arm of an American, offensive or defensive, is not—pardon the "bull"—his fist, but his pistol. He carries it about with him in its leathern receptacle beneath his coat, at all times, and in all places. He knows nothing of the European etiquette which restricts its use to the hour of cock-crow, and regards the orthodox accompaniment of coffee as a superlative absurdity. Young or old, high or low, he must have his six-shooter. The father and brothers of the affable young lady, refined and well educated as they were, carried their pistols as a matter of course. True, when I expostulated with them, they excused themselves by saying that they were intended only as a means of defense against the possible assaults of the soldiers; but the copperheads delight in making martyrs of themselves, or rather holding themselves out as victims to a martyrdom which is purely imaginary, and I consider the pretext of these two gentlemen nothing but a specious defence of a barbarous usage which must condemn itself in the eyes of any educated man. However that may be, there is the established habit, and if civilians are habitually so reckless in the employment of murderous weapons, it was not to be marvelled at that the soldiers, tolerably

inured to the atrocities of the guerilla warfare of the West, should exhibit a pre-eminent heedlessness in the promiscuous use of their rifles. They spent the whole morning in random shots at everything live or dead that offered a convenient mark. They seemed to have a perfectly unlimited supply of the U. S. ammunition, and being citizens of a free republic, were free to do what they liked with it, — an elysian perfection of unconditional license in the boasted possession of which a Yankee is for ever impressing upon you the superiority of his political condition, and which, in Yankee parlance, consists in the right of every man to do as he "dam pleases." I never saw any people more alive to the existence of their constitutional rights than the soldiers in the present instance. How many hundred shots were fired I know not, nor do I see why I or anybody else on board was not shot every bit as much as the objects actually aimed at. If I saw one rifle pointed at my head, I saw a hundred. Revolvers were swung carelessly about with much less caution than is exhibited in an English cover. Across the deck, through the rigging, out of the saloon-windows, over the hats of the passengers, anyhow, was kept up an irregular discharge of the most independent firing I have ever witnessed. Nobody seemed to mind it, ladies and children took little or no notice of it, and, stranger still, no harm seemed to come of it, either to those on board or the objects of assault. I thought I saw a poor cow struck, but to the disappointment of her enemy she walked off untouched.

Soon after mid-day we landed at a point in the river beyond which the shallows would not admit our boat. There we were to wait for a still lighter tug to carry us up to St. Paul's. I was tired of the river, and hearing that the city was only twelve miles off proposed a walk. It was accepted by about twenty of the passengers, which, considering that an American never walks, could only be accounted for by their being as weary of the boat as myself; and under the guidance of one who said he knew the road, our party accordingly started. The path lay at first up through a thin belt of elm, oak, and beech — pretty enough in itself, but too little — and thence out across ten miles of the hottest, dustiest plain I ever traversed. It was a real joy to see the distant roofs and steeples of St. Paul's in view as we came down again to the

river, and better still to be upon the curious bridge which connects the low level bank, on which we then were with the high chalky bluff on which the city stands — a most distressingly untraditional bridge, all on the oblique and very awkward, like a great clumsy fire-escape propped up against a high wall⁷ — but best of all to be splashing about, and rinsing off the very palpable results of a three days' roughing it on those awful boats, down in the cool depths of a glorious bath, beneath the shelter of what the Paulites call their "Internaytional Hoe-tel."

[To be continued]

⁷ Construction on the first bridge connecting the east and west banks of the river at St. Paul was begun in 1856 and the structure was completed in 1858. J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul, and of the County of Ramsey*, 237, 368, 378 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 4).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A BRITISH REGIMENTAL GORGET IN MINNESOTA

In the fall of 1927 the writer received for inspection a crescent-shaped sheet of silver, richly engraved. It was found about seven years ago by Mr. Harry Bedman while plowing on his farm on the shore of Lake Ida, about seven miles northwest of Alexandria, Minnesota. When found it was crumpled up. It is about the size and approximately the shape of the visor of a cap.

This ornament is beautifully engraved with the British coat of arms such as it was during the reigns of the first three Georges. The shield, having in its four quarters the distinguishing marks of England, France, Scotland, Ireland, and Hanover, is encircled by the ribbon of the Order of the Garter bearing its motto "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*" On the one side is the lion and on the other the unicorn, and below is the motto "*Dieu et mon droit.*" On the reverse side are a number of hall marks. The edges are rolled.

This article, which at first sight looked like an epaulette or shoulder ornament, proved on investigation to be a gorget. A gorget was originally a part of a knight's armor, a crescent-shaped piece of steel for the protection of the neck between the upper part of the breast plate and the lower edge of the helmet. Later, when personal armor went out of use, miniature gorgets of silver or of gold became parts of the uniforms of higher military officers and were worn on the breast, suspended by cords or ribbons, as a sign that the officers were on duty.

After the middle of the eighteenth century, when England conquered the French dominions of America, medals and other ornaments were bestowed upon prominent Indian chiefs to gain their good will and loyalty. Among such ornaments were

gorgets and the chief receiving such an honor was known as a "gorget captain" — the title of captain being the highest military distinction known to the Indians. These gorget commissions were awarded with much dignity.

A good account of gorgets as Indian ornaments is given by Mr. Arthur Woodward in an article entitled "Indian Use of the Silver Gorget," published in *Indian Notes*, 3:232-249 (October, 1926). The subject is also discussed in a pamphlet by Mr. Harrold E. Gillingham entitled *Indian and Military Medals from Colonial Times to Date*.

It is not likely, however, that this Alexandria gorget was ever presented to an Indian gorget captain. As far as the present writer has been able to learn through considerable correspondence, the Indian gorgets were made in Montreal or Philadelphia and the engraving inscribed upon them is different from that on the Alexandria gorget. There are four hall marks on the reverse side of the latter, and these marks indicate that it was made in England. The first shows *H. B.* in cursive capitals, the second a large lower case *b*, the third a lion *passant*, and the fourth a crowned leopard's head. According to C. J. Jackson's *English Goldsmiths and Their Marks* (London, 1905), the *H. B.* and the *b* were the marks of Hester Bateman of London (entered at Goldsmiths Hall, 1774-76), the lion *passant* was the trade mark for London, and the crowned leopard's head, the royal assay mark. It is doubtful, however, that the Minnesota gorget belongs to this particular period. Accompanying Mr. Woodward's article is shown a photographic reproduction (p. 235) of an official British army gorget from about 1778. The ornamentation on this gorget has nothing in common with the Alexandria gorget except the crown. One would expect official army gorgets of the same period to be of one pattern. As there was a goldsmith in London by the name of Henry Bailey (entered 1748), who used cursive capitals, it is more probable that this gorget dates from about 1750.



GORGET FOUND NEAR ALEXANDRIA IN 1927
[From a photograph in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]



BEAVER MONEY

[From an original bank note in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]

The writer has corresponded with the directors of a number of museums, but has not heard of the existence of any gorget similar to this one. It appears to be the oldest known gorget in America. Inasmuch as it was found in the distant Northwest, on the highway between the Mississippi and the Hudson Bay posts, where no Indian gorgets appear to have been distributed in the early period, the writer believes it belonged to a British army officer who passed that way.¹

Letters relating to this "find" from officials of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the College of Arms, London, and the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, have been placed in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society. As may be seen, the writers of these letters also believe that this gorget was formerly the property of some British army officer.

H. R. HOLAND

EPHRAIM, WISCONSIN

BEAVER MONEY

In 1841 two of the employees of the Northern Outfit of the American Fur Company at La Pointe found themselves restrained by the action of a rival from carrying on their business in their usual way. One of these men, James P. Scott, in reporting the case on March 4 to his superior, Dr. Charles W. Borup, explained how the rival had made a complaint to the Indian subagent which had resulted temporarily in enforced idleness for the two men. He then continued his report, stating that the rival "told him [*the other employee*] that if he would redeem all of the Beaver money in their [*the rival's company*] possession for Silver (amounting to about \$70.00) "

¹ Another possible explanation is that the gorget at some time may have been taken by Indians from a captured or slain officer in some other section of the country and that it reached the place where it was found through Indian migration, war, or trade. *Ed.*

and would agree to other stipulations, the complaint would be withdrawn.²

The use of the expression "Beaver money" in this letter is noteworthy. Apparently reference was made to a current form of money. Now the scarcity of "hard" money in frontier localities is axiomatic, and the region about La Pointe was apparently no exception to the rule. Other articles often served in lieu of gold and silver in such places and many of these substitutes are well known. Thus the *plus*, or prime beaver skin, was used quite generally as the unit of monetary calculation by the Northwest Company in this same region at an earlier date; and tokens were sometimes employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. The use of beaver money, however, seems to have escaped notice, and so this reference becomes of especial significance.

What this beaver money may have been is suggested by the accompanying illustration. A few samples of this form of currency have been preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society. It will be noted that this money was issued at La Pointe; that it was redeemable to the bearer in American Fur Company's supplies instead of specie; and that it had to be signed and dated by an American Fur Company factor in order to be valid. In other words, it was a sort of bank note issued by the American Fur Company for the convenience of its creditors. The representation of the beaver doubtless gave the name by which it appears to have been known.

The rôles played by the American Fur Company on the frontier were numerous. It acted as postman, transportation agent, bureau of information, census marshal, and banker. In this last capacity its activities in discounting, lending, and effecting exchange have been well known for some time; now it is seen also to have enacted the part of a bank of issue.

G. L. N.

² American Fur Company Papers in the possession of the New York Historical Society, New York City.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Law in History and Other Essays. By EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.
(New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. vii, 174 p.)

Rarely does a scholar win applause for his professional achievements, though he may frequently receive commendation for work of superior quality. This is probably just as dear to him as the former. Sometimes his lot is to draw criticism that may be useful though not pleasant. The leading essay in the work under review, however, recalls one of those exceptionally rare occasions when the scholar received an ovation. The reviewer was not present when Frederick J. Turner read his famous paper on the significance of the frontier in American history. He was present, however, when this paper on "Law in History" was read before a joint meeting of the American Historical and the American Political Science associations at Columbus. When Professor Cheyney had concluded there was silence for some moments. This was broken, at length, by thundering applause, which went on and on as though it would never cease. Time and again the speaker modestly returned to the platform to bow his acknowledgment, but the applause still continued. The reviewer wondered just how the *impasse* could be ended. Would the speaker have to repeat his address or would the audience finally become exhausted? The latter occurred. No one who was present will ever forget that occasion — or will ever want to forget it.

This memorable address constitutes the first of six essays that are bound together in this attractive little volume. Not every social scientist will agree fully with Professor Cheyney with reference to all the "laws" that he has here set forth, but they constitute a challenge to all thinkers in this field. Doubtless there are those who would like to modify his statement of the "law of impermanence or mutability" to a less fatalistic conception of the fortune of political organizations. Some would rather consider merely a law of change that operates to bring about changes

for no other reason than that people desire to do things differently. Such variance of opinion, however, is only a tribute to the character of the essay.

The other five essays, "What is History?" (1907), "The Tide of History" (1913), "The Agitator in History" (1915), "Historical Tests of Democracy" (1919), and "History among the Sciences" (1926) are all memorable. Written at different times over a period of twenty years, they reflect the author's changing views as he has advanced in his chosen field. Views of earlier years are somewhat modified by further study and thought. The initial essay, delivered in 1923, merely marks the culmination of this brilliant collection.

A wealth of illustration, drawn not alone from incidents and episodes in history, which the author knows so well, but likewise from poetry and literature, with which he is almost equally familiar, adds to the reader's interest. The whole is suffused with the author's gentle humanitarian spirit, which, while it brooks no compromise with the historian's duty to absolute truth, nevertheless reveals that broad sympathy without which history cannot properly be understood. These essays are products of those moments when the master pauses in the strenuous labors of the scholar's workshop and reflects upon ultimate meanings. And it is chiefly through such moments that the thoughtful layman is admitted to the secrets that scholarship accumulates and too often conceals.

AUGUST C. KREY

The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine. By ALICE FELT TYLER.
(Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1927.
411 p.)

The place that James G. Blaine should occupy as one of the makers of American diplomatic history has been heretofore more a subject of controversy than of research. Fulsome praise of Blaine, the "harbinger of the new era," has been pitted against unfriendly criticism of Blaine, the novice in international affairs. Mrs. Tyler's task has been to make use of all the available evidence and so far as possible to let the documents speak for them-

selves. The archives of the department of state have been subjected to a more complete overhauling than ever before for the topic under consideration and such other relevant materials as exist, printed or manuscript, not even excepting extensive and unreliable periodical literature, have been carefully examined. Mrs. Tyler is certainly to be congratulated upon the completeness of her research and not less upon the fairness and impartiality of her conclusions. Blaine survives the ordeal better than some of his critics would have thought possible, but not so well as his devoted followers would have hoped. "The truth," writes Mrs. Tyler, "lies neither with his admirers nor with his detractors. He was a Secretary of State with greater vision and greater grasp of the interests and problems of the United States than any who held office between the time of Seward and that of John Hay." This, of course, is a well-guarded statement.

Well written and admirably brought out by the University of Minnesota Press, the book deserves and doubtless will obtain a wide circulation among readers of American history who enjoy biography, diplomacy, or the expert analysis of recent events.

JOHN D. HICKS

Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer: Being a Biography from Certain Hitherto Unpublished Sources of General John C. Frémont Together with His Wife, Jessie Benton Frémont, and Some Account of the Period of Expansion Which Found a Brilliant Leader in the Pathfinder. By ALLAN NEVINS. In two volumes. (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1928. ix, viii, 738 p. Illustrations.)

This is no "debunking" biography, — perhaps the weirdly long and eighteenth-century title was so phrased that it might convey the impression that the author was not emulating Rupert Hughes, — it is a straightforward story of a romantic and significant figure in American history and particularly in the history of the American West. Based upon printed sources, many of them little known, and upon considerable heretofore unused manuscript material, it offers a fresh interpretation of the life and characteristics of the "Pathfinder" and, without being in any sense a

eulogy, corrects some misapprehensions that have apparently tended to become fixed.

Those especially concerned with the history of Minnesota and the Northwest will turn to chapter three of the first volume. Here is an account of Frémont's "First View" of the West in company with J. N. Nicollet, who the author insists is "Jean" and not "Joseph." Nothing new is brought out and no use apparently was made of the Nicollet Papers in the Library of Congress, the Frémont material alone being the basis of the short sketch of this episode.

As the title suggests, Jessie Benton appears in the story very nearly as often as her husband. In fact one could hardly tell the story of one without the other, and certainly the Benton family was so closely intertwined with Frémont's exploits that they are inexplicable apart from it. With both the Frémonts the reader feels a sense of personal acquaintance, for their traits have been drawn with a sympathy and a vividness that make them live.

The story itself is generally chronological, as most good biographies should be, carrying the "Pathfinder" through his three governmental expeditions. The third, which took him to California and Oregon in time to play a part in the "liberation," receives extended treatment not only because of the connection between the California situation and the Mexican War, but also on account of the controversy that has been carried on over Frémont's part. The author concludes that he was neither so indispensable as his admiring contemporaries thought nor the meddling blunderer portrayed by Royce and Hittell. "Frémont was not the liberator of California," according to Mr. Nevins. "It would in all probability have fallen safely and surely into American hands had he gone unambitiously north to the Oregon Trail in the spring of 1846. But he did play a gallant, daring, and useful role in expediting the American conquest, making it easy for the Navy to act, preventing the possible occurrence of complications with Great Britain, and enabling California to be almost wholly pacified before the first overland forces under General Kearny arrived."

The clash between Frémont and Kearny was probably inevitable when one takes into consideration the temperaments of the

two men. A greater degree of coolness on either side might easily have smoothed the situation so that Frémont would not have had to go East virtually a prisoner, and the court-martial, which rebounded to Frémont's popularity, would never have taken place. The author's conclusion that Frémont was used hardly is well backed by both documents and argument.

After the court-martial Frémont steps out of his rôle as official explorer, and, in spite of the fact that he led two more expeditions into the mountains, in 1848 and 1853, one feels that the work in which he took most interest was done. Frémont developing his Mariposa property, Frémont the presidential candidate in 1856, or Frémont in the Civil War—none of these produces the thrill of Frémont the explorer. The "Hundred Days" in Missouri, with their disastrous effect on Frémont's reputation, are examined in detail, and the author is of the opinion that as commander of the Department of the West he was led into unfortunate acts by his impulsiveness, but that "with all his shortcomings," in three months he "did bring an army into being, did virtually clear Missouri of the enemy, did take practical measures important for the future, and, above all, did place in Kentucky a force and a commander who were destined to win the first real victories of the War." After the war one sees Frémont the millionaire and then Frémont reduced to the point where a household could not be maintained, but through it all a Frémont of large ideas, impulsive and simple.

This is a good piece of work. It has been done with painstaking care, in spite of the fact that a few errors, not all caught in the list of errata, are noted here and there. One cannot quite agree that "the great western wilderness lying beyond the Missouri . . . was for the most part a land of mystery" (p. 76). But the author himself modifies this a little farther on by saying that "despite the growing attention to the West and the steady penetration of its more attractive portions, a really scientific knowledge of the trans-Missouri regions was almost completely lacking." With this one can agree, and one can also agree that Frémont did much to supply that scientific knowledge. But that title! One could put up with its length, if only the superlatives had been omitted. It is a dangerous thing to affirm, out-

side of an advertisement, that any one thing is the "greatest" of its kind. "The West's Greatest Adventurer!" Fortunately the book belies the title, for it has nothing of the flamboyancy suggested by those words.

LESTER B. SHIPPEE

An Outline of County Government in Minnesota, With Special Reference to Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis Counties (University of Minnesota, Bureau for Research in Government, *Publications*, no. 7). By WILLIAM ANDERSON, PH. D., director of the bureau for research in government, and BRYCE E. LEHMANN, M. A., formerly research assistant in the bureau. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1927. 174 p.)

This pamphlet is the seventh in a series of publications that the bureau for research in government has brought out dealing with various problems in the field of state, local, and municipal government and administration in Minnesota. Preceding numbers have dealt with city charter making, the state constitution, the Minneapolis city charter, and village government. The primary object of the series is to furnish information in respect to the organization and operation of the political institutions of the state of Minnesota.

The fundamental data upon which this study was based were gathered in a large part by Mr. Lehmann while he was employed as a research assistant by the bureau in 1923 and 1924. This material has been revised and rewritten and a considerable amount of new matter added by Dr. Anderson in preparing it for publication.

Political scientists are agreed that the county is the dark continent of American political institutions. The spotlight of publicity has beaten mercilessly upon our state and city governments, but so far it has had little effect in bringing about needed reforms in the government of our counties. Any program of reform in a county government must be based upon an accurate knowledge of the facts as they exist. Those, therefore, who are interested in the improvement of county political institutions will greet this study with great interest.

While the book has been written more for the information of the citizen than for the critical student, it states concisely and in an informative way the principal problems of county government in Minnesota. From the standpoint of the student of history, the first chapter will be of particular interest. In this the authors have told the story of the creation of the present county areas. It is supplemented by an appendix giving data on the establishment and organization of each of the eighty-seven existing counties, with concise references to laws. Other chapters deal with the nature and general functions of the county, its organization, its financial administration, and its special functions. Separate chapters are devoted to welfare functions; roads, drainage, and other public works; judicial functions; and education and agricultural functions. The study concludes with a chapter suggesting "next steps in county government." Throughout the study special emphasis is laid upon Hennepin, Ramsey, and St. Louis counties.

The authors point out that "the first difficulty with county government in Minnesota seems to be that the people generally are unaware of the importance of these units. . . . The eighty-seven counties raise more money by taxation each year than all the town, village, and small city governments in the state combined. It is only the large budgets of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth which put the cities ahead of the counties in total taxation." Consolidation of counties, the abolition of townships, and the improvement of the financial situation in the northern group of counties are all pointed to as lines of approach for a solution of the county problem. Patient study and wise statesmanlike leadership in the reform of county government will enable Minnesota to take its place among those states which are giving adequate attention to this problem.

HARVEY WALKER

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

A bequest of twenty-five thousand dollars to the society "for the purchase of books, pamphlets and manuscripts relating to subjects, individuals and events having a bearing upon the history and development of Minnesota" is contained in the will of the late Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis, who died on May 24. Mr. Jones had been a member of the society's executive council since 1921.

Forty-eight additions to the active membership of the society have been made during the quarter ending June 30, 1928. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

ANOKA: Mrs. Blanche E. Salter of Anoka.

CROW WING: Mrs. Martha W. Von Hagen of Crosby.

HENNEPIN: Harold E. Blinn, Edward P. Brown, Verne E. Chatelain, C. Roy Dearing, Henry A. Erikson, Esther Ermisch, George P. Flannery, Dr. Melvin E. Haggerty, John M. Harrison, Frank H. Heck, Edward M. Johnson, Charles J. Larson, Mel R. Nyman, Ernest S. Osgood, Chauncey J. V. Pettibone, Robert L. Pollock, Mrs. Anna B. Smith, Russell A. Stevenson, James A. Vaughan and Charles D. Velie, all of Minneapolis.

HOUSTON: Oliver P. Rosendahl of Spring Grove.

ISANTI: Thomas J. Gable of Grandy.

MILLE LACS: W. S. Moses of Onamia.

OLMSTED: Dr. Louis B. Wilson of Rochester.

PIPESTONE: John W. Pierce, Edward L. Reader, and William E. Pool, all of Pipestone.

RAMSEY: Charles L. Ames, Mabel Anderson, James H. Bell, Sr., Walter C. Coffey, Stanley Gates, Louis W. Hill, Jr., Frederic C. Miller, Samuel A. Newman, Edward S. Stringer, Grant Waldref, and Richard A. Walsh, all of St. Paul.

RICE: William C. Benson of Northfield.

ST. LOUIS: F. Rodney Paine of Duluth.

WASHINGTON: Mrs. Arthur S. Milinowski of Stillwater.

WINONA: Otis M. Botsford of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Mrs. Ivy L. Lee of New York City; Frank O. Lowden of Oregon, Illinois; William J. Petersen of Dubuque, Iowa; and John D. Stegeman of Bouden, Iowa.

The society lost seven active members by death during the three months ending June 30; Asher Murray of Wadena, April 6; Walter H. Sanborn of St. Paul, May 10; Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis, May 24; Jared How of Hillsborough, California, June 1; Mrs. George O. Moore of Worthington, June 11; John W. Taylor of Hollywood, California, June 27; and Charles H. Sanborn of Minneapolis, June 30.

Oak Hall of St. Paul and the public schools of Pine City have recently subscribed to the society's current publications.

Mr. Blegen will leave about August 1 for Norway, where he is to spend a year as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation studying the backgrounds of Norwegian immigration to the United States. He will read a paper at a session of the sixth meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Oslo on August 16 on "The 'America Letters': Sources for the History of American Immigration."

Several changes in the society's staff have recently been occasioned by leaves of absence or resignations. Mr. Jacob Hodnefield, head of the accessions department of the library, has been appointed acting librarian for the period of Miss Krausnick's leave of absence, beginning September 1. Miss Krausnick will devote a year to travel and rest. Miss Lois Fawcett, formerly on the library staff of the Mankato State Teachers College, has been appointed to the position of head of the reference department and will take up her duties on September 1. Mr. Bryce E. Lehmann, a recent graduate of the Harvard Law School, will be in charge of the newspaper division of the library during the coming year, taking the place of Mr. Roy W. Swanson, who has been forced to leave on account of ill health. Mr. Lehmann has for some years been associated with the superintendent in the preparation of a comprehensive inventory and finding list of Minnesota newspapers and in this connection has familiarized himself not only

with the society's newspaper collection but also with newspaper files in many other parts of the state. Miss Gladys Heimes resumed her position as stenographer and office assistant on July 1 after an absence of six months.

A wall placard has been printed giving information about the terms of membership in the society. Copies of this card will be supplied upon request to any member who would be interested in placing it in some conspicuous place, for example in an office or a library or in a shop window.

The society's curator of manuscripts, Dr. Nute, left on June 16 for a vacation in the East, intending to do some "manuscript exploring" for the society in Washington, New York, Boston, and Worcester, and possibly Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Montreal.

Mr. Donald E. Van Koughnet, a 1928 graduate of the University of Minnesota, is preparing a revised inventory of the archives of the state for the American Historical Association, which in 1916 published Mr. Herbert A. Kellar's *Preliminary Survey of the More Important Archives of the Territory and State of Minnesota*.

At the meeting of the executive council on April 9, Mr. James D. Armstrong of St. Paul was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Honorable Gideon S. Ives. After the business session the members of the council were conducted on a tour of the various divisions of the society.

Among several special exhibits recently displayed in the society's museum is one of hand bags and purses representing different periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Several talks on historical and allied subjects have recently been given by members of the staff to Minnesota audiences. Dr. Buck delivered the commencement address of the high school at Kerkhoven on May 31 on "The Challenge to American Democracy." Dr. Blegen discussed "The Meaning of Minnesota History" before the Pentangle Club of Minneapolis on April 19,

gave an illustrated talk on "Social and Economic Conditions in Minnesota in the Fifties" at the Oak Hall Diamond Jubilee celebration in St. Paul on April 25, and addressed the Steele County Federation of Women's Clubs on June 30 at Medford on "The Organization of Local History." Mr. Babcock spoke at a meeting of the Colonial chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Minneapolis on April 6, taking as his subject "Lawrence Taliaferro and the Fort Snelling Agency." Dr. Nute gave illustrated talks on the Minnesota fur trade before the Parent-Teacher Association of the Johnson High School in St. Paul on April 11 and the Business and Professional Women's Guild of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, also in St. Paul, on May 7.

ACCESSIONS

Attention has been called in an earlier number of MINNESOTA HISTORY (see *ante*, p. 67) to the transcripts of letters, reports, and journals of the Swiss missionaries, Samuel Dentan and Daniel Gavin, which Monsieur A. Grandjean of Lausanne, Switzerland, has been making for the society from a file of the rare *Rapports de la société des missions évangélique de Lausanne*. The work of making the transcripts has now been completed and they have been translated from the French into English by Miss Alice Fitch. These records tell how Dentan and Gavin began their work at Trempealeau, Wisconsin, in 1837; how they were joined by one Rossier and another mission was begun at Red Wing's village on the west side of Lake Pepin, where a long Alpine hut was built and a school established; how Rossier fell ill and left; how the Red Wing mission was abandoned for one at St. Peter's and that in turn for one on the St. Croix; and how finally activities at the Red Wing station were resumed. Ill health on the part of Mrs. Gavin caused her and her husband to leave for New York, and shortly thereafter, in 1847, the Dentans took up their abode at Kaposia. In 1848 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions assumed direction of the work at Red Wing, and at this point the papers of one of the board's missionaries, John F. Aiton, take up the story of the mission (see *ante*, 6: 397).

Among the archives of the Catholic diocese of St. Cloud is a volume containing records of births, deaths, and marriages as kept by Father Francis Pierz for the missionary parish of Crow Wing in the period from 1852 to 1870. Through the courtesy of Sister Grace McDonald of St. Benedict's College, St. Joseph, the society has been given permission to make photostatic copies of these records, which occupy 120 pages. The places where baptism was administered to Indians and half-breeds by Father Pierz range from Sauk Rapids to Leech Lake and from Sandy Lake to Otter Tail Lake. The records indicate that the village of Crow Wing was the center of his operations, but the names of other places, such as Mille Lacs, Belle Prairie, Little Falls, Fort Ripley, and Little Rock, occur frequently.

About thirty items have been added to the society's collection of Edward D. Neill Papers by his daughter, Miss Minnesota Neill of Minneapolis. They are of a miscellaneous character, relating to various periods of Neill's life. Of special interest is the information that some of them afford on the early history of Macalester College and on Minnesota troops in the Civil War. Some of the correspondents represented are Robert T. Lincoln, Alexander Ramsey, Stephen Miller, Henry H. Sibley, and Theron Baldwin, for whom the Baldwin School, now Oak Hall, St. Paul, was named.

An account of Paul A. McDermott and his wife, Rose McNamee McDermott, early residents of Traverse des Sioux and its vicinity, has been written and presented to the society by their son, Mr. Thomas J. McDermott of St. Paul.

A brief history of the Duluth, Virginia, and Rainy Lake and the Duluth, Rainy Lake, and Winnipeg railroads written by Mr. Hansen Evesmith of Fargo, North Dakota, who has been intimately connected with the history of these roads, has been presented by the author.

Copies of a set of memorials prepared by the Ramsey County Bar Association in honor of members who died in 1927 have been presented to the society by that association, which intends to make the presentation of such biographical sketches a yearly custom.

A large skin scraper made of Shakopee limestone has been received for the archeological collection of the society's museum from the Reverend M. Sava of Shakopee.

A valuable addition to the society's collection of instruments and other objects illustrating early medical practice has been made through the gifts of a tourniquet, a stethoscope, lancets, rolls of linen bandages, a syringe, and obstetrical instruments dating from the early seventies, received from Dr. J. C. Ferguson of St. Paul.

An ox yoke and ox shoe have been presented by Mr. G. H. Winch of Truman.

To the military collection have been added a cartridge belt, a bayonet, and a filter from the Spanish-American War period, a World War periscope, and various other objects, presented by Dr. Ferguson of St. Paul; a silver buckle from an American Revolutionary War uniform, received from Mr. A. B. Gould of Zumbro Falls; and a bread-ration ticket of the kind used in France during the World War, presented by Miss Frances Rogers of St. Paul.

A hand-made sap yoke used in the sugar woods of Ohio in 1830 is the gift of Mrs. L. B. Scales of St. Cloud.

Numerous gifts that have recently enriched the society's domestic life collection include two large tablespoons, one teaspoon, and a pair of silver sugar tongs dating from 1771, received from Miss Richardine Hand of St. Paul through the courtesy of Mrs. B. S. Oakes of Detroit, Michigan; a tumbler of Stiegel glass, several pieces of hair work, some letter wafers and stamped envelopes of the period from 1849 to 1863, and other gifts from Miss Abby Abbe Fuller of St. Paul; a watch chain, bracelet, and scarf pin of hair, from Mrs. Samuel D. Flagg of St. Paul; two crocheted woolen mats dating from 1875, from Mrs. Charles E. Battles of Bemidji; a collapsible skein reel said to have been made in Sweden in 1823, from Mr. Thor Wennerblom of Minneapolis; a hand-made decorated wooden chest, inscribed with the date 1805, from the Honorable E. H. Hobe of St. Paul; and a group of toys dating from 1895, from Mrs. Albert Haines of Minneapolis.

Among recent additions to the society's costume collection are three fans and two pairs of black silk mittens dating from 1870, received from Dr. Ferguson of St. Paul; a black lace fan with carved ivory sticks, made in the late fifties, from Miss J. Van Name of Minneapolis; and a white satin wedding gown of the vintage of 1895, from Mrs. Robert Rosenthal of St. Paul.

A "harness" cask used on a sailing vessel for the storage of salt meats has been received by the society from Lieutenant T. H. Jones of Minneapolis.

Recent gifts that have been added to the society's picture and portrait collection include a framed pastel portrait of Charles Bazille, who donated the land for the first state capitol, a framed oil portrait of Mrs. Charles Bazille, and a framed pastel portrait of John A. Bazille, received from Mrs. John A. Bazille Bennor of St. Paul; framed crayon portraits of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Campbell, settlers at Point Douglas in 1847, from their granddaughter, Mrs. L. A. Hansen of Hastings; and a framed enlarged photograph of Frank Danz, Sr., who is said to have been the leader of the first brass band in Minnesota, received from Mrs. Bertha Danz Sprague of Los Angeles, California.

NEWS AND COMMENT

A brief account of an important enterprise recently initiated by the University of Minnesota is presented under the title "A Co-operative Study of the Northwestern Central Region of the United States" by F. Stuart Chapin in volume 22 of the *Publications* of the American Sociological Society (Chicago, 1928). Mr. Chapin states that the projected study will extend over two decades; that it is "under the guidance of a committee representing all the social science departments of the University of Minnesota"; and that coöperation is expected from other universities in the region, which consists of "Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, with fringes of western Wisconsin, northern Iowa and Nebraska, and eastern Montana and Wyoming." As a first step a bibliography consisting of 2,700 titles was compiled. The second step will be the preparation of an extensive atlas of the area. One valuable product of the survey is the article entitled "Some Gaps in the History of the Northwest" by Joseph R. Starr, which was published in the June number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*.

Among the subjects in the most recent *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at the Chief American Universities* issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington are "The Catholic Missions among the Indians of the United States, 1790-1875," by Sister M. Celeste Leger (Catholic University); "Stage-coach Travel and the Staging Business in American History," by O. W. Holmes (Columbia); "Frontier Defense, 1815-1830," by E. B. Wesley (Washington University); "The Attitude of Western Republicans toward the Tariff, to 1890," by W. E. Nydegger (Ohio); "The Influence of the West upon the Reconstruction of the Republican Party, 1865-1870," by L. K. Bowersox (Ohio); "Life and Times of Alexander Ramsey," by W. J. Ryland (Yale); "History of the Non-Partisan League," by Bertha M. Kuhn (Minnesota); "The Early History of Mis-

Mississippi River Steamboating," by W. J. Petersen (Iowa); "Life on Mississippi Steamboats," by Leland Baldwin (Michigan); "Government Explorations, Other than Railroad Explorations, in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1848-1860," by A. B. Bender (Washington University); "The Character and Influences of Immigration into Minnesota, 1837-1857," by Sister Eucharista Galvin (Chicago); "The Religious History of the Swedes in Minnesota," by J. O. Anders (Minnesota); "Third-party Movements and Their Economic Background in Minnesota since 1858," by E. A. Moore (Chicago); "The Missouri Synod in Its Relation to Other Lutheran Groups in the United States," by Carl Mauels-hagen (Minnesota); and "The Social and Economic Development of the Territory of Dakota," by H. E. Briggs (Iowa).

Action was not taken by the House of Representatives in the session that closed March 4 on the bill authorizing the appropriation of \$125,000 for the publication of papers in the United States federal offices relating to the territories from which the states of the Union have been created (see *ante*, p. 184). It is expected that the bill, which already has been approved by the Senate, will be passed by the House next December.

The American Numismatic Society has issued a finely printed and fully illustrated volume entitled *Indian Peace Medals Issued in the United States*, by Bauman L. Belden (New York, 1927). The study is naturally of much interest for Minnesota because of Indian-white relations involving the use of peace medals in this region.

In a pamphlet entitled *Two Indian Battles* (1928. 18 p.), Mr. Robert K. Boyd has attempted the vindication of two men whose military careers have been subjects of dispute for many years. Of the Custer fight he has no personal knowledge and so his greatest contribution to the story of Major Marcus A. Reno is his knowledge of Indian warfare and his comprehension of the psychology of Reno's nervous collapse at the outset of the retreat. Of the controversy that has raged since 1862 over the command at the battle of Birch Coulee, however, he is able to speak with some authority, for he took part in the struggle and is the author of a

pamphlet describing it (see *ante*, 7:354). His conviction is clear that Captain Hiram P. Grant and not Joseph R. Brown was in charge of the troops whose camp was attacked by the Sioux on September 2, 1862; and his implication is strong that the primary responsibility for the disaster belongs to Colonel Henry H. Sibley, who sent out the expedition.

Considerable light on the early history of the Northwest Company, the great Canadian fur-trading company, is afforded in a document dated at Grand Portage on July 24, 1790, which is published in the *Canadian Historical Review* for December, 1927, with an illuminating introduction by Dr. H. A. Innis. This document consists of a series of articles of agreement for the carrying on of the Northwest fur trade by the partners of the company.

An extended discussion of "Travel Literature as Source Material for American Catholic History" by Joseph P. Ryan is appearing in installments in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*. In the April number "Travel Literature from 1815 to 1842" is discussed, and among those whose accounts are noted are Giacomo C. Beltrami and Captain Frederick Marryat, both of whom visited the Minnesota region. The author erroneously refers to Beltrami as a French traveler, whereas in fact he was Italian; and he calls Fort Snelling "Fort St. Peter."

An important account of western interest in overland transportation to the Pacific coast in the fifties is given in an article entitled "Surmounting the Sierras," by Chester L. White, in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society for March. Occasionally Minnesota connections are touched upon. For example there is a reference to the appropriation by Congress in 1856 of fifty thousand dollars "for the construction of a wagon road from Fort Ridgely in Minnesota, to South Pass."

A detailed and graphic account of "The Progress of Farm Relief" by John D. Black appears in the *American Economic Review* for June. Among several interesting charts that accompany the article is one showing the course of agricultural prosperity since 1911 and the dates of the chief farm relief measures after 1920.

Evidence of the continued interest in the history of emigration and immigration is afforded by the publication of a scholarly volume entitled *British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837*, by Helen I. Cowan (Toronto, 1928. 275 p.).

An interesting account of "Pehr Dahlberg and the First Swedish Settlement in Iowa," by Robert N. Dahlberg and Charles L. Dahlberg, appears in the *Annals of Iowa* for July.

The presidential address given by Dr. Joseph Schafer at the Des Moines meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in April on "Carl Schurz, Immigrant Statesman" is published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June. In the same number appears an interesting installment of "Pioneer and Political Reminiscences," by Nils P. Haugen, one section of which tells of Knute Nelson, a colleague of Mr. Haugen's in the House of Representatives in the late eighties.

An attempt is being made by the Daughters of the American Revolution in Wisconsin to restore old Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien.

"Winter Logging in the North Woods" of Wisconsin and Minnesota in the years when the lumber industry was in its prime is described by C. L. Tolles in an article in the *Lumber Worker* for February.

Captain Fred A. Bill continues his account of "Steamboating on the Red River" in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for April (see *ante*, p. 190), giving in considerable detail his own recollections, which go back to his engagement as a clerk on the "Dakota" in 1872. The article closes with a list of steamboats on the Red River from the "Anson Northup," built in 1859, to the "Grand Forks," built in 1895. Of the latter Captain Bill says, "This was the last steam boat built on Red River in the United States for commercial purposes." The same number of the *Quarterly* contains a suggestive study of "The Army Fort of the Frontier (1860-1870)," by Raymond L. Welty. A document of much interest is the diary of L. K. Raymond, published under

the title "Trip Over the Plains of Dakota in 1865," which tells of a march from Fort Snelling to Devil's Lake and back.

Several articles on the history of the University of North Dakota, including one on the period from 1885 to 1887 by Vernon P. Squires, appear in the January number of the *Quarterly Journal* of that university.

An article on "Detroit and George Rogers Clark" by Milo M. Quaife in the *Proceedings* of the Ninth Annual Indiana History Conference, published as an extra number of the *Indiana History Bulletin* (April, 1928), is a valuable contribution to the history of the Northwest during the Revolution. In "The Conquest of the Old Northwest" by Ross F. Lockridge, in the same publication, exception is taken to some of Dr. Quaife's statements.

The Marquette County (Michigan) Historical Society has published a *Catalog* of its books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, newspapers, and periodicals, which are preserved in the Public Library of Marquette (Ishpeming, 1928. 45 p.). The list of manuscripts alone covers nearly seven pages. This local society, which has been collecting materials for ten years, has set an excellent example for other local historical societies to follow. Such finding lists of historical materials are of course valuable aids to research.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

A biographical novel dealing with the life of James J. Hill has been brought out by Mr. Oscar M. Sullivan of St. Paul under the title of *The Empire-Builder* (New York, 1928. 372 p.). In addition to published accounts of Hill's career, Mr. Sullivan has used the files of numerous Minnesota newspapers in drawing together his materials.

Considerable interest in Minnesota history has been aroused by a loan exhibit of rare books, pictures, and maps relating to early Minnesota that has been on display at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts since early in May. Numerous items were loaned by the Minnesota Historical Society, including its supposed portrait of Father Hennepin. A sketch entitled "Longfellow and Minnehaha

Falls," published in the institute's *Bulletin* for May 26, calls attention to certain books and prints in the exhibit that might have influenced the poet in writing his "Hiawatha." A Currier and Ives print of Minnehaha Falls, published about 1874, is reproduced in the *Bulletin* for May 5.

"The Origin of the Minnesota National Forest" is explained by Professor H. H. Chapman in the *Gopher Peavey* for 1928, an annual publication of the Forestry Club of the University of Minnesota. The volume, which contains many articles on forestry, is dedicated to Dr. William W. Folwell, who on January 13, 1881, introduced the following resolution at a meeting of the board of regents of the university: "That the Professor of Agriculture be requested to prepare a detailed plan whereby the advantages of a separate and special school of forestry be offered in the agricultural college of the university."

A study of "A State Income Tax and the Minnesota Constitution" by Henry Rottschaefer, in the *Minnesota Law Review* for June, though primarily a discussion of a present-day problem, contains numerous references to Minnesota cases that give it a distinct historical value.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

A description of western Minnesota by an unnamed staff correspondent of the *American Traveller's Journal* is reprinted from the August, 1881, number of that magazine in the *Ortonville Independent* for February 9, March 15, and April 19. The first installment tells of the journey, made probably in 1881, from Minneapolis to Brown's Valley; the second describes a steamboat trip on Big Stone Lake and presents comments on the sod houses that dotted the prairie west of the lake; and the third gives a vivid picture of pioneer Ortonville.

Governor Christianson was the speaker at a celebration at Sleepy Eye on April 23 commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the village on March 19, 1878.

A "History of Parke Township," Clay County, by S. O. Most, read on June 20 at a meeting of the Clay County Old Settlers'

Association at Viking Park, is published in the *Barnesville Record-Review* for June 21.

A brief account of "The City of Brainerd," by D. H. Fullerton, in *Minnesota Municipalities* for June, deals mainly with the history of that city.

Three unusually interesting and successful meetings have been held recently by the Goodhue County Historical Society. At the first, in Red Wing on March 5, Mr. C. A. Rasmussen read a paper on "Pioneer Days in Vasa and Prairie Island" and a style review showing the development of women's dress in the past century was presented. The second program, given at Red Wing on April 8, included a review of "Early Show Days" — concerts, theatrical performances, and circuses in Red Wing — by Mr. C. L. Kellogg, and an exhibit of old quilts and hand-woven coverlets. On July 7 a third meeting was held at the Featherstone Town Hall, near Red Wing. Objects illustrative of pioneer life belonging to farmers in the vicinity were exhibited and a history of Featherstone Township prepared by Mr. Rasmussen was read.

A sketch entitled "What's in a Name?" appears in the *Montgomery Messenger* of April 13 as one of a series of local history articles. It is based on a comparison of the "latest personal property tax lists with names mentioned in pioneer records," and it shows that "descendants of numerous well-known families of pioneer days still are residents of villages and farming districts of this section."

An interview with William H. H. Sumner of Dawson in which he pictures Minneota as he saw the infant settlement in 1871, when he passed through in a covered wagon, is published in the *Minneota Mascot* for May 18.

"In order that we might know a little about our immediate surroundings, institutions and traditions, the members of the American History Class of the Argyle high school under the direction of their instructor, Miss Myrtle Nelson, did some research work in the history of our village and wrote accounts of some of the early days of Argyle" according to the writer of the introduction to a series of articles thus prepared and published in the

Marshall County Banner of Argyle from April 19 to May 17. In the preparation of their papers the students were given access to the files of the *Banner* in the local newspaper office and they interviewed a number of old settlers. The subjects and authors of the papers follow: "The Early History of Argyle," by Curtis Paulson and Clarence Kurz, April 19; "Early Transportation," by Walter Swanson and Alfred Paulson, April 26; "Early Pioneers," — a directory with brief biographical sketches,— by Gladys Steffen and Lucy Gajeski, May 3; "Community Organizations," by Howard Chandler, May 10; and "Local School and Church History," by Grace Poolman and Ima Back, May 17.

Village Communities, by Edmund de S. Brunner (New York, 1927), one of a series of American village studies being published by the Institution of Social and Religious Research, is of Minnesota interest because a Minnesota village is included among a half dozen or more type studies of individual villages representing different sections and kinds of communities in America. The Minnesota village is dealt with under the heading "Lincoln — a Dairying Center." The description of its history and present-day characteristics, however, makes it clear that the village in question is Litchfield. Other volumes in the series deal with *American Villagers* and *American Agricultural Villages*.

Nearly two thousand people attended a meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society at Clitherall on July 1, when a tablet bearing the following inscription was unveiled and dedicated: "Site of the first permanent settlement in Otter Tail county, Minnesota. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ came here from Iowa May 5, 1865. This tablet placed by the Otter Tail County Historical society, July 1, 1928." Among the speakers on the program were Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota, who called attention to various kinds of sources of history, illustrating their character and interest by citing specific examples; Mr. Lester Whiting of Clitherall, who told of the journey of Iowans into western Minnesota that resulted in the first permanent settlement of the county; Mr. Anthon Thompson, who made the speech of dedication; and Mr. Emery Fletcher, who accepted the marker on behalf of the village of Clitherall. The

setting up of this marker and the very successful meeting held in connection with it testify to the vitality of the Otter Tail County society.

The seventieth anniversary of Seabury Divinity School of Faribault was celebrated in connection with the graduation exercises on May 22. A tablet "marking the site of the first Seabury mission, built in 1858" was unveiled by the Charter Oak chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Faribault. A brief history of the school appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 15.

Two program meetings were held by the St. Louis County Historical Society in June — the first at Chisholm on June 22 and the second at the Jackson Club Building, near Duluth, under the auspices of the Jackson Farmers' Club on June 27. Among the papers presented at Chisholm — all by local speakers — were an account of the "Discovery of Ore and the Development of the Mining Industry" by Willard Bayliss, "Reminiscences of Pioneer Days at Chisholm" by Mrs. G. L. Train, an outline of the "Development of Education at Chisholm" by J. P. Vaughan, and a description of the "Great Fire at Chisholm and the Rebuilding" by the Honorable J. H. McNiven. At the second meeting interest in agriculture predominated; the program included an address on the "Development of Agriculture at the Head of the Lakes" by John G. Williams of Duluth and a "History of the Jackson Farmers' Club" by Fred Ward.

The issue of the *Sauk Centre Herald* for June 7 is an elaborately illustrated "Sixtieth Anniversary Edition" presenting an excellent picture of the history of the community and its institutions and industries. Its most pretentious article is a detailed "History of Sauk Centre" from the first settlement in 1856 by a little group of seven people who comprised the "Sauk Centre Townsite Co." Attention is called to the fact that "the first meeting of settlers held for any purpose was July 16, 1857, at which time the Sauk Valley Claim Association was formed." The Sauk Center press receives its share of attention; among the articles on this subject are sketches of "Sauk Centre Editors I Have

Known" by Alvah Eastman, and a "Review of Experiences as Herald Editor" by A. M. Welles. The story of the Sauk Center schools is outlined by W. B. Morgan; an account of the Bryant Library, opened in 1869, is presented by Miss Helen B. Baker; and several articles are devoted to sketches of local churches. The "Advancement of Minnesota's Home School for Girls" is the title of an outline of the history of Sauk Center's most important institution; and the activities of the Stearns County Child Welfare Board are reviewed by Mrs. Emma Moynihan. The reminiscent articles in the issue include two relating to the activities in the stockade built at Sauk Center in 1862 for protection against the Indians, by Major John R. Howard and Mr. George W. Thacker; and a sketch appropriately entitled "Both Sides of Main Street," by Dr. J. A. DuBois, who has lived in the community for nearly fifty years. The importance of the town as a dairying center is recognized in an article entitled "The Sweet Cream Town," and there are also sketches of "Local Agricultural Institutions." The most interesting of the illustrations are a reproduction of a lithograph of Sauk Center made in 1868 from a drawing by W. J. Whitefield and a sketch of the Sauk Center stockade of 1862.

A first step toward the organization of a Steele County Historical Society was taken at the sixth annual meeting of the Steele County Federation of Women's Clubs held at Medford on June 30. After an address by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society, in which the possibilities of county historical work were sketched, a county-wide committee was appointed to launch a county historical society. Its chairman is Dr. Milo B. Price of Owatonna, and the other members are Mr. Hugh H. Soper, Mrs. F. W. Adams, and Mrs. C. I. Buxton, of Owatonna; Mr. Edward Buskovik of Clinton Falls; Mr. S. A. Rask of Blooming Prairie; Miss Cynthia Adams of Medford; and Mrs. E. A. Seidel of Ellendale. An interesting illustration of the possibilities of collecting museum articles in a given community was given in a talk by Mrs. William Masche of Clinton Falls describing an "antique show" recently undertaken by the people of that village.

An excellent "History of the Kerkhoven Public High School," by Stanley H. Anonsen, the superintendent, is published in the 1927 issue of its annual, the *Kerkhoven*.

The organization forty-two years ago of the Woman's Reading Club of Stillwater by Mrs. William M. McCluer, who has served ever since as its president, is described by Florence Lehmann in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 7.

The encouragement of the study of local history has taken a most interesting form in Wilkin County, where the county "fair association offers over one hundred dollars in prizes each year for historical articles pertaining to Wilkin county and its people." The articles are treated as exhibits at the fair and they become the property of the association. In connection with the 1928 fair "premiums" were offered for the following items: the "best historical account of a township"; the "best historical account of any city, town or village"; the "best story of pioneer life in Wilkin County"; a "collection of letters, newspapers, extracts, pamphlets, and books dealing with the history of Wilkin County"; a collection of "Indian relics"; and a collection of "war relics." When it was learned through Mr. Frank E. Balmer—who was responsible some years ago for the compilation of a bibliography of Minnesota county histories—that the history of Wilkin County had never been written, the *Gazette-Telegram* of Breckenridge began the publication of some of the articles "exhibited" at the county fair in the past. Among the sketches that have appeared are "A Wilkin County Romance" at Fort Abercrombie, by Miss Margaret Jones of Breckenridge, May 2; recollections of some of the blizzards of pioneer days, by Mrs. A. C. Heys of Glyndon, May 9; the history of Sunnyside Township, by Mrs. R. O. Harrison of Doran, May 16; and the history of Breckenridge, also by Miss Jones, May 23.

Letters from pioneers who spent their childhood years in Winona and interviews with some of them were used as sources for two articles on the early schools of Winona by Paul Thompson, historian of the Winona County Old Settlers' Association, published in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for May 12 and 19.

The first deals with the earliest private and public grade schools of the city between 1852 and 1862, when all school records were destroyed by fire. It tells of the nursery school conducted in the summer of 1852 by Angeline Gere, "a miss of 14 years" who "collected less than a dozen small children in the boarding house shanty of Mrs. Abner S. Goddard"; of a number of other short-lived private schools; and of the first public school in the county, opened at Minnesota City in October, 1853, with twenty-seven pupils under the care of Hester Houck. The second article is concerned "primarily with the State Normal school, now the Winona State Teachers College, the first institution of its kind west of the Mississippi river." Both articles are illustrated with portraits of pioneer teachers and pupils, and a picture of the first normal school building appears with the second.

Indians and university professors, French *voyageurs* and missionaries, pioneers, and immigrants mingled in the varied pageantry of "The Builders," presented at the Municipal Auditorium of Minneapolis on June 26, 27, and 28 to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the city. The pageant reviewed the history of the city from the days of the Indian through the World War, and the background for most of the episodes was the Falls of St. Anthony. An elaborate program issued for this "Diamond Jubilee Pageant" is especially noteworthy for its illustrations, which include portraits of Henry T. Welles and Dorilus Morrison, the first mayors of St. Anthony and Minneapolis; a picture of the cabin on Lake Calhoun occupied by the Pond brothers, "the first habitation of a white man in what is now Minneapolis"; an old print of the building used by the University of Minnesota in the seventies; and a photograph of the first bridge across the Mississippi at Minneapolis.

"Highlights and Skyline of Minneapolis for Seventy-five Years" is the title of an article by Lucile Collins in the *Gopher-M* for June in which some interesting aspects of Minneapolis social history are discussed.

An old record book entitled "Chattel Mortgage Records, Town of Minneapolis, May, 1860 to April, 1867," recently unearthed in

the office of the city clerk of Minneapolis, is described in a brief article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 27.

Twenty-five Years of Fighting Tuberculosis in Minneapolis and Hennepin County is the title of a contribution to local medical history issued by the Hennepin County Tuberculosis Association (Minneapolis, 1928. 71 p.). It includes a "Chronological Record" of the work of the association since 1903 and a number of brief sketches of its activities.

A three-day celebration from April 19 to 21 marked the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of Trinity Lutheran Church of Minneapolis. Among the talks presented was a sketch of the history of the church by Professor Andreas Helland of Augsburg Seminary.

The building of a new home by Temple Israel, the oldest Jewish congregation in Minneapolis, organized in 1879, is the occasion for the publication of a brief history of the temple in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 31. Special services, including a review of the history of the congregation by Amos Deinard, marked the closing of the old temple on June 1.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Holy Rosary Catholic Church of Minneapolis was celebrated on June 10 and 11.

The story of what was once one of the most pretentious homes in Minneapolis, that built in the late sixties by Joel B. Bassett, is outlined in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 3, which announces that the house, now in the business section and occupied by a school, is soon to be torn down.

The origin and growth of a number of St. Paul schools are outlined in a series of articles beginning in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of April 15 with an account of the St. Paul Academy Country Day School. This is described as an outgrowth of the Barnard Private School, founded in 1888; it became the St. Paul Academy in 1900 and the country day school in 1916. Oak Hall, "the oldest exclusive girls' school in St. Paul," is the subject of the second article, published on April 22. The account calls attention to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the school, which was

founded in 1853 as the Baldwin School with the Reverend E. D. Neill as principal. An elaborate celebration extending from April 22 through April 28 marked this jubilee. On Founder's Day, April 25, "articles and relics illustrative of life and work in early Minnesota" were displayed in the school's gymnasium and an illustrated lecture on "Social and Economic Conditions in Minnesota in the Fifties" was presented by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society. Another outgrowth of Neill's educational activities, Macalester College, is the subject of the article for April 29. This began in 1855 with the "incorporation of the College of St. Paul" and after many ups and downs it finally opened on its present site in 1885. The histories of two Catholic schools, Cretin High School and St. Thomas College, are sketched in the articles published on May 6 and 13. The first was founded by Bishop Joseph Cretin in the capital of the new Minnesota Territory in 1851, and the college was opened by Archbishop Ireland in 1885.

The retirement of Mr. Arthur B. Driscoll as president of the Young Men's Christian Association of St. Paul after thirty-one years in that position is the occasion for the publication of an article by Julian Sargent on the history of the association and of Mr. Driscoll's services in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 10. The author reveals that "the 'Y' has been here for 72 years but until its reorganization in 1897, when Mr. Driscoll was elected its president . . . it aspired to little more than maintenance in rented quarters of reading rooms, a social meeting place for young men and the accumulation of a library."

